

GREEK AND ROMAN DRESS FROM A TO Z



LIZA CLELAND, GLENYS DAVIES
AND LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES

GREEK AND ROMAN DRESS

FROM A TO Z

This book is a treasure trove of information on dress and the art of dressing through the ages of ancient Greece and Rome. There are exhaustive references to the authors who wrote works in classical Greek and Latin on the topic.

While the focus is clearly on Greece and Rome, there are also entries on the dress of other classical civilisations. It includes entries on Greek and Latin terms, with equivalents listed together and full descriptions and translations. As well as the garments themselves, this 'A-Z' also collects a great deal of background information illuminating how and why garments were made and used, revealing what they can add to our appreciation of the art and literature that depicts them, and of the cultures that made and wore them.

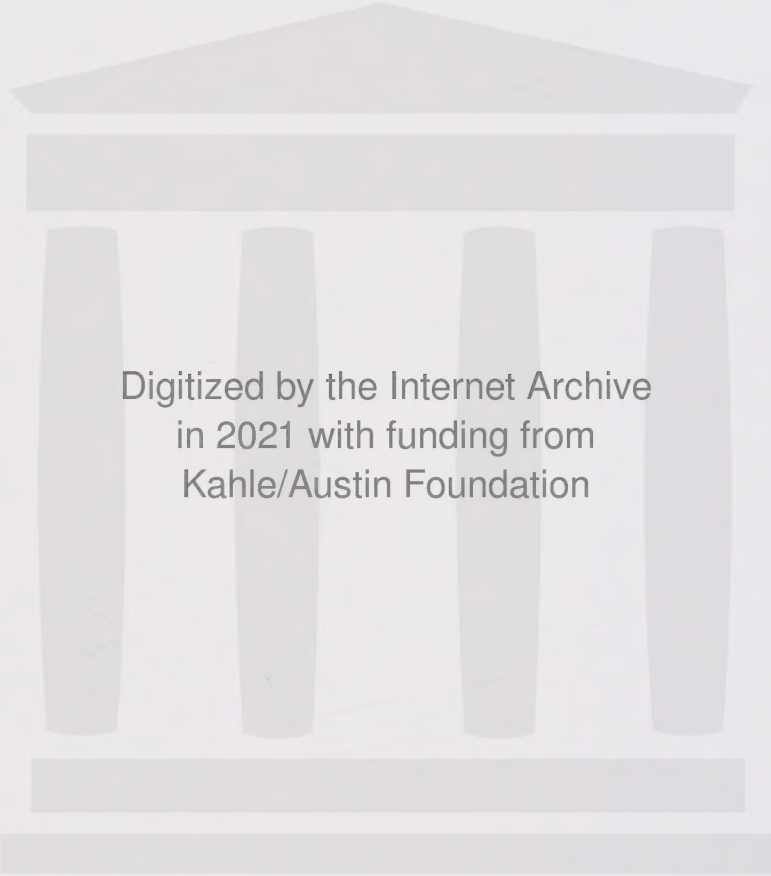
Topics include:

- clothing manufacture and economics
- trade, regional dress and ethnicity
- gender definition and sexual presentation in dress
- different evidence for dress
- the evolution of garments and clothing attitudes through time
- fashion and status
- stage costume and the dress of specific groups
- clothing in daily life
- clothing and its role in rituals and weddings.



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Greek and Roman
dress from A to Z





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GREEK AND ROMAN DRESS FROM A TO Z

Who dressed as a woman in an attempt to commit adultery with Julius Caesar's wife? How did the ancient Greeks make blusher from seaweed? Just how does one wear a toga?

If, as many claim, the importance of clothes lies in their detail, then this is a book that no sartorially savvy Classicist should be without. *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z* is an alphabetized compendium of styles and accessories that form the well-known classical image: a reference source of stitches, drapery, hair-styles, colours, fabrics and jewellery, and an analysis of the intricate system of social meanings that they comprise.

The entries range in length from a few lines to a few pages and cover individual aspects of dress alongside surveys of wider topics and illuminating socio-cultural analysis, drawn from ancient art, literature and archaeology. For those who want to take their reading further, there are references to both primary sources and modern scholarship.

This book will be fascinating for anyone delving into it with an interest in style and dress, and an invaluable companion for any Classicist.

Liza Cleland is post-doctoral fellow at the University of Edinburgh. Her fields of specialism include clothing and religion as social, cultural and intellectual expression.

Glenys Davies, is Senior Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. Her research interests include Roman funerary art and the social construction of women in the classical world.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Edinburgh. He has worked as an historical consultant for sets and costumes in Oliver Stone's film *Alexander* (2004).

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**Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies and
Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones**

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Preface

Why wonder about dress? In a certain sense, this is a silly question: people do. We wonder what to wear every day, making complex decisions concerning our practical plans, social contexts, moods and desire for self-expression – tempered by the actual clothes available and the imagined responses of others. Clothing is the most personal, communicative and ubiquitous aspect of material culture. The forms and meanings of modern dress are defined by a multitude of interrelated factors – fashion, aesthetics, social affiliations, ethnicity, gender and status, economics, trade and manufacture – which are very different from our ideas of ancient dress.

Yet ancient art, literature and archaeology leave the modern viewer in no doubt that ancient dress also possessed forms and meanings, defined in different ways, but by many of the same factors. (Ancient portraiture, for example, particularly important in Roman culture, clearly shows the self-aware use of dress to fashion the self.) Because we *do* wonder about dress, we also wonder about the dress we encounter in famous statues and elegant monochrome images, on the imagined stage, and in evocative descriptions of gods, heroes, leaders; philosophers, prostitutes, slaves. Such musings are often frustrated by the complex history of ‘Classical’ dress in our own artistic traditions: since the Renaissance, such (imagined) garments have been used to take the figure out of time, to place it in a heroic, a-historical realm, to personify abstractions and to abstract persons. In this aspect of our tradition, ‘Classical’ garments have often signified, not in themselves as items of clothing, but simply as signs of cultural allegiance. Modernity or the lost ‘Golden Age’, reason over fashion, intellectual over social context, are just a few of the meanings assigned to the reconstructed blank slate of ‘Classical’ dress. In the process, such garments became almost semantically null within the ‘language of clothing’.

This too, however, now belongs to the past: our own basic western dress forms have arguably become the new *tabula rasa*, certainly a forum for (often fraught) negotiation. As ethnology and anthropology strive to preserve and analyze the traditional dress patterns of disparate cultures, as mass media show us clothing going global and fashion abandons its pursuit of futurism, questing back for evocative styles, the questions of what and why people wonder about clothes have

become both more accessible and more pressing. Greek and Roman dress – so much a part of our tradition, yet so clearly, on the slightest reflection, ‘other’ – makes an illuminating and ever-present comparison. As such, it needs to be seen as more than the empty sign of ‘Classical’: therefore, as the complex and multifaceted social, cultural, aesthetic and material phenomenon it was to its wearers, observers and depictees.

This A–Z aims to provide an introductory guide to such complexity. It is by no means exhaustive and that is, in itself, telling. Even as reduced by the limited source material that has survived the ages, Greek and Roman dress remains too massive a topic to be fully covered in a single book. Nor, indeed, is this A–Z absolutely definitive: Greek and Roman dress is an expanding field of study and scholarship, enriched by a multitude of debates and open to new approaches to its huge resources of evidence. The very nature of that evidence, spread as it is across almost every artistic or literary source for the ancient world – often as incidental as it is intriguing – makes this inevitable. And, in truth, although we have attempted to be even-handed, this compendium also naturally reflects the particular specializations of its authors. Nevertheless, its aim is to open this important aspect of ancient life – and thus also of art, literature, drama and so forth – to all those who have ever, professionally or personally, wondered about ancient dress. Therefore, we have concentrated on representing the breadth of the information available, and on helping the reader to navigate and delve into it, with broad thematic entries linked to specific ancient Greek and Latin terms. Both are vital: within its basic relatively familiar structures (e.g. cloaks and tunics) ancient dress presents a huge variety of garments, whose uses and meanings varied according to the situations and aims of their wearers.

Dress is not only material, but also worn: as much a process as an artefact. Ancient art and literature often provide ‘snapshots’ of this, showing garments in use, but detailed examination can sometimes tell us much more and we aim to share this in an accessible way with the general reader, while pointing to sources of further information and debate. As well as the garments themselves, this A–Z also collects a great deal of background information illuminating how and why garments were made and used: suggesting what they can add to our appreciation of the art and literature that depicts them, and of the cultures that made and wore them. We discuss the manufacture, value and economics of clothing; trade, regional dress and ethnicity; dress as a cultural and social indicator; garments as aspects of gender and sexual presentation; different forms of evidence for dress; the evolution of garments and of clothing attitudes through time; fashion and status; stage costume and the dress of specific groups; and clothing in daily life, in religion or rituals such as the wedding. Such aspects of clothing contribute to more than an understanding of life in the ancient world: considering them deepens our appreciation of the many and various roles dress plays in our own lives.

A moment’s reflection on such complexities of modern dress is enough to suggest some of the challenges of arranging this information. On the one hand, a simple alphabetical arrangement of ancient terms would be of little use even to the most specialist readers. On the other, a compendium arranged entirely under

English headings would obscure both the variety and the particular – culturally revealing – nature of ancient dress. We have tried to steer a middle course. The relevant ancient terms – which you may have encountered in other works, current or classical, and which themselves, just by existing, reveal much about how the Greeks and Romans thought of their own dress – are arranged independently and alphabetically, but also collected under the main English entries (e.g. cloaks, femininity). All the entries also contain capitalized cross-references to the most relevant general or thematic entries: these form a web that may be pursued as far as you wish.

The entries for ancient terms also include citations of ancient authors, not only for those who may want to follow them up, but also themselves suggesting how commonly, rarely – or differently – each item was discussed in Greek and Latin. By and large, these are placed separately from the main part of the entries, except where ancient sources disagree about the nature or meaning of an item, when the contrasting texts are referred to in place. (References at the end of an entry appear in the same order as aspects of the item are discussed within the entry.)

We hope that this A–Z will be useful in a variety of ways. For the general reader with an interest in Greek and Roman history, culture or visual arts, the English entries provide a general introduction to the topic of dress, the ancient terms an effective means of digging a little deeper. For students, formal or informal, the text offers a reference companion to art and literature, illuminating some of the specific meanings of clothing references and depictions. For theatre producers, fashion designers, costumiers, journalists and art historians – or anyone for whom ancient dress impacts on professional life – this volume provides an accessible reference work linked to relevant further reading. For classicists, historians, dress scholars and lexicographers, it contributes to a field generally under-represented in English, and will surely stimulate interesting debate. Most of all, we have tried to ensure that as well as offering something at each of these different levels, the text allows the reader to progress, if they so choose, from simple definitions to appreciation of the complex issues which Greek and Roman dress presents – not only for almost every aspect of the cultures of antiquity, but also many of our own cultural traditions.

Liza Cleland

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Technical notes

We have used ‘y’ for upsilon, ‘ch’ for chi, ‘h’ for rough breathings, and indicated long vowels in our Greek transliteration. Some ancient terms are both synonymous and very similar in form: these share an entry and are separated by commas. Similarly, some terms have specific forms for male and female, and are again placed together, separated by an oblique stroke. On occasion, two words with closely related simple meanings have also been placed together, separated by semi-colons, as are their meanings. Latin dress terms may sometimes be more widely known in phrase form and are therefore included under both the initial word of the phrase and the separate terms. Generally, synonymous and opposite terms which expand the meaning of a heading are given after definitions. Readers familiar with Greek and Latin will note that we give verbs in the forms commonly used by lexicographers (generally first person) but have defined them using ‘to ...’. Both these choices aim to aid non-specialist readers; by emphasising the nature of these terms; and by making further grammatical information easy to access.

Many particular terms for garments in Greek and Latin are relatively poorly attested, but the meaning of specific words is often further illuminated either by their derivation (given in italics and translated) or by comparison with related forms. It is therefore worth looking not only for a single specific term, but also at those surrounding it. Similarly, cross-references in the image captions are inevitably somewhat speculative, since linking words and images is a difficult and often controversial enterprise (especially for Greek garments): we have nevertheless included them as suggestive, rather than definitive.

Ancient references, so far as possible, are made to Loeb Classical Library texts, which provide the original language alongside a standard translation. (The titles of ancient texts commonly available, or otherwise most commonly referenced, in translation have been translated. Titles in Greek or Latin generally indicate more obscure texts.) For expansion or details of references, the reader should consult the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, or the standard lexicographers (Liddell, Scott and Jones for Greek, Lewis and Short for Latin, see bibliography). A

great deal of information is now available online, along with translated and original ancient texts. Perseus (www.perseus.tufts.edu) is a reliable academic source, but Google (used cautiously) also provides good links. Full details of all modern references can be found in the bibliography, together with a short list of suggested general reading.

Abbreviations

CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , various volumes and editors (Latin text)
Festus	<i>Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatione quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome</i> . C.O. Mueller (1839)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , various editions and editors (Greek texts, details in Latin)
LSCGS	<i>Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques, Supplément</i> F. Sokolowski (1962)
Nonius	Nonius Marcellus <i>De compendiosa doctrina</i> edited W.M. Lindsay, 3 Vols (1964) [1903]
Pliny, NH	Pliny (The Elder) <i>Natural History</i> (<i>Naturalis Historia</i>)
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>

A

abolla (L) A thick WOOL CLOAK (also used generically of WRAPPED cloaks), appearing in a wide range of contexts: MILITARY or PHILOSOPHERS' cloaks (especially the Cynics' ragged cloaks); better-quality cloaks worn by city prefects. The **abolla** might also resemble an amictus duplex, or be a LUXURY item – bright PURPLE, or splendid like Ptolemy's **abolla** (which attracted so much attention from the crowd at the games that Caligula became jealous, precipitating Ptolemy's execution). In the fourth century AD the **palmata abolla** was a badge of CHRISTIAN martyrs.

Nonius, 863L; Juvenal, 4.76; Servius, *In Aeneidem* 5.421; Martial, 8.48.1–4; Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.1.

achitōn (G) Literally, 'without chitōn' or TUNIC: i.e. wearing only a himation, and by extension NUDE.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.6.2.

achlainia (G) Literally, 'without a chlaina' or MANTLE: i.e. wearing only inner garments.

Euripides, *Helen* 1282.

acia (L) Sewing thread.

Celsus, 5.26.23.

acicula (L) A small PIN used to fasten a female HEADDRESS or VEIL.

Code of Theodosius 3.16.1.

aclassis (L) TUNIC made by folding a length of cloth and cutting a hole for the head (SEWN sides, gaps for the arms), negating the use of shoulder SEAMS. Characteristically un-Roman in style, but often found in Roman ARCHAEOLOGICAL sites in EGYPT and the near east.

Festus, 20.

ACTORS In Greece, the rise of the professional actor begins in the mid-fifth century BC (Figs 1, 39). Costumes were paid for from public funds and individual citizen sponsorship and, as in the Roman world, varied according to the type of play and performance (see STAGE COSTUMES). In Rome actors were credited with notoriously low morals and were supposed to wear a **subligaculum** on stage for the sake of decorum. FOOTWEAR was distinctive: comedians wore **socci**, tragedians **cothurni**; mime artists performed BAREFOOT.

Cicero, *On Offices* 1.35.129; **baxea**, **cheiridōtos**, **chitōn chortaios**, **himationisthēs**, **kothornos**, **kolpōma**, **periblēma**, **ta en Dionysou**, **skeyē**, **syma**.



Figure 1 Masked ACTORS in comic STAGE COSTUME based on everyday dress. From left: (1) SLAVE(?): padded belly, SLEEVED tunic, flesh-coloured leggings – with attached phallus – soft SHOES. (2) Young maiden: long tunic, shaped sleeves attached, bordered himation used as veil. (3) HERAKLES: padded tunic, flesh-coloured leggings, sandals, signature lion-SKIN. (4) Old woman/nurse: voluminous tunic, bordered himation, soft SHOES.

acu pingere (L) Literally, ‘to paint with a needle’, referring to the skill of making intricate FIGURATIVE pictures or PATTERNS by EMBROIDERY or with a pointed SHUTTLE (like the pictures PATTERN-WOVEN into Coptic and Byzantine textiles).

Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.582; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.23.

acus (L) A small needle or PIN, decorative, or used practically for SEWING.

Martial, 14.24.

AEGIS A protective AMULET originally associated with Zeus, later the main DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of ATHENA (Fig. 10). Often said in Greek mythology to incorporate the severed head of Medusa – whose glance turns its recipient to stone – it was also imagined as a sharp-edged thundercloud fashioned by Hephaestus for Zeus, or as SKIN, either of the divine GOAT Amaltheia, or the giant Pallas. It is often represented as a sort of CLOAK, sometimes scaled and fringed with serpents, with Medusa’s head in the middle, but it could also be a shield or BREASTPLATE. In Roman mythology, the shield of Minerva was adorned with the

head of Medusa. The Latin word can refer to any shield, and even metaphorically to JEWELLERY that ugly women use in an attempt to conceal their ugliness.

Euripides, *Ion* 987–97; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.755; 6.78; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.354.

AGAMEMNON, *THE* Greek tragedy is a complex resource for Greek ideas about clothing and this play by Aeschylus includes a famous textile scene: Agamemnon’s vengeful wife encourages him to commit an act of fatal *hybris* by walking on the PURPLE DYED textiles of their household wealth. Colour, luxury and VALUE signify here, but textiles are also her domain and the products of her labour. In this, and their vibrant COLOUR, SYMBOLIC of blood, they recall his daughter’s blood, whom he had sacrificed, in wedding SAFFRON, to line his path *away* from home. Purple was also associated with APHRODITE, and thus the marriage bed. The scene foreshadows Agamemnon’s death, mazed in a PATTERNED garment, woven by his wife along with her plans for revenge, then DYED with his blood. While the *hybris* may come from an over-proud material act, the ‘red carpet treatment’, there is also

implicit personal motivation – Agamemnon is offered one final chance at humility (to assuage Klytemnestra's desire for revenge, make his royal captive's entrance into the household tolerable, encourage Klytemnestra to respect her proper role), in short, to suggest he does not still feel blameless. But he continues to walk the bloody path, and so comes to its final end. These textiles, as in the stories of Iphigenia, of ION, and the myth of Tereus and Procne, speak of kinship, home, duty and betrayal: the words which Greek tragic women are not given to say.

Agamemnon 239.

agathis (G) A ball of thread, also Ariadne's ball of (HEDDLE) thread, **agathis mitou**, see **mitos**.

Aeneas Tacticus, 31.19; Pherecydes, 148J; Barber (1991: 266, 269).

agnuthes (G) A LOOM WEIGHT (Fig. 25).

Pollux, 7.36.

agrēnon (G) A hank of WOOL that has gone through the process of CARDING but not SPINNING (cf. **ēlakata**, **katagma**), being held together by knots tied at regular intervals. Such FILLETS were often DEDICATED to statues of deities or wrapped around sacred objects, such as the Delphic *omphalos*, cf. **infula**.

Pollux, 4.116; Åström (1970: 44–5).

aigis (G) Literally, GOATSKIN as used for clothing (prohibited by CLOTHING REGULATION for some priestesses of ATHENA) but also any ornament worn on the chest (cf. AEGIS) including SPARTAN CUIRASSES.

Lycurgus, *Fr.* 23; Pollux, 5.100; Nymphodoros, 22; LSCGS 91, Lindos.

akis (G) Any pointed object; therefore a needle, cf. **acus**.

Greek Anthology 12.76.

albatus (L) Dressed in WHITE, e.g. Roman white CIRCUS FACTION.

Suetonius, *Domitian* 12.3; Pliny, *NH* 8.65.160.

albogalerus (L) The WHITE cap worn by the Flamen Dialis, see **galerus**.

Festus, 10.

albus (L) WHITE, of clothing and other objects, particularly FOOTWEAR.

Price Edict of Diocletian, 9.19, 23.

alidense (L) Splendid LUXURIOUS clothes: apparently closest to the concept of 'court' dress in Latin (but not used of the **toga**, the primary Roman formal dress), possibly rather simply a finely woven garment, cf. **indusium**. Derived from the Carian town of Alida (Alinda) where expensive garments were manufactured.

Lucretius, 4.1130.

allix (G) A man's outer garment or **chlamys**: specifically, a Thessalian PURPLE cloak.

Callimachus, *Fr.* 149.

ALLURE The elaborate depiction of pre-wedding preparations on pottery (emphasizing complex DECORATION and ornate jewellery and hairstyles) is good evidence for what the Greeks found alluring. Ovid advises Roman women how to make themselves more attractive, suggesting they should choose clothes and HAIRSTYLES which suit their colouring and shape, and bring out their best features: men 'are won by dress, all is concealed by gems and gold; a woman is the least part of herself'.

Ovid, *Remedies of Love* 343–4, *Art of Love* 3.101–92, 3.255–82; Oakley and Sinos (1993); FEMININITY, MAKE-UP.

alticinctus (L) High-waisted: clothing pulled up through a BELT, thereby shortened to allow for freedom of movement, see **cinctus**.

Phaedrus, 2.5.11.

altiusculus (L) SHOES with thick soles to increase height.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 73.

aluta (L) A soft LEATHER used for SHOES, purses or beauty patches.

Juvenal, 7.192; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.202.

alveolus (L) A weaver's SHUTTLE.

Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 130.

AMAZONS Amazon dress changes according to their place in Greek imagination and ideology. In the first ARCHAIC representations, Amazons wear Greek hoplite ARMOUR: on black-figure pottery, only pale-coloured skin distinguishes them as women. In the era of the Persian Wars, however, Amazons assume PERSIAN (specifically Median) style clothing: a highly patterned **ependytēs**, and ankle-length

anaxyrides decorated with zig-zags, worn with BOOTS or slippers (Fig. 2). Amazons then begin to be FEMINIZED: their dress becomes an odd combination of PERSIAN and CLASSICAL Greek clothing, until, by 440 BC, it takes its final feminized and EROTICIZED form: a breast-exposing **heteromaschalos** or **chitōniskos**.

Veness (2002: 95–110).

amethystinus, amethystinatus (L) Clothing DYED amethyst COLOUR (violet-BLUE).

Martial, 1.96.7; 2.57; Suetonius, *Nero* 32.3.

amiantus (L) Made from stone separable into threads, i.e. ASBESTOS.

Pliny, *NH* 36.31.139.

amicire (L) To cover with outer garments, see **amictus**. Used for DRAPING, as opposed to garments put on over the head



Figure 2 Battle scene, mythological figures. From left: (1) Bearded SOLDIER: short linen **chitōn** under moulded metal or leather **CUIRRASS**, small cloak, **petasos**-style **HELMET**. (2) **AMAZON**: pseudo-PERSIAN dress – patterned **ependytēs**, **anaxyrides** with zig-zag patterns, boots, hair in patterned **HAIRNET** or **fillet**. (3) Heroic **ephebe**, **NUDE** apart from **cuirass**, **GREAVES**, **HELMET** and arms.

(*induere*). Also *amicimen*, a general term for clothing draped around the body.

Suetonius, *Vespasian* 21; Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11.9; Nonius, 868L.

amictorium (L) A MANTLE or VEIL, cf. **amictus**; a loose outer garment worn by women.

Code of Theodosius 8.5.48.

amictus (L) Any wrapped garment (used in the *Aeneid* where *toga* was anachronistic): the **amictus duplex** may have been woven double-faced or big enough to have been folded in two, cf. **abolla**. Also wrapped garments as a style of dress.

Cicero, *On Oratory* 2.22.91; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.363; *Art of Love* 2.297, 3.179; Aulus Gellius, 1.5.2.

amiculum (L) An outer garment, CLOAK; generally, a garment wrapped round the body (**amictus**). Livy, in debating SUMPTUARY LAW (*Lex Oppia*, 195 BC), asks if MATRONS should be denied their PURPLE amacula, implying that this was a respectable (if expensive) form of dress (34.7.3). However, Isidore says 'in the past' a matron taken in adultery wore an **amiculum**, whereas it was an honourable garment in Spain in his own day (*Origins* 19.25.5); he may be thinking of the *toga* apparently worn by adulteresses and PROSTITUTES, cf. *toga muliebris*, *pallium*. Such disparities illustrate a common problem with LITERARY evidence: many ancient terms seem to refer to both specific garments and general garment types – authorial intent is not always obvious from context. These accounts may not actually conflict. Livy may be using **amiculum** to denote a generic wrapping garment which is *not* a *toga* (cf. Virgil's **amictus**, with the feminine connotations of the diminutive) so drawing a contrast with the *toga muliebris* of prostitutes.

Festus, 28; Livy, 27.4.10; McGinn (2003).

amitrochitōnes (G) Wearing the *chitōn* without BELT or SASH. Used by Homer of Lycian warriors, later of women.

Iliad 16.419; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 35.220.

amitros (G) Literally, 'without a *mitra*': usually associated with young unmarried women.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 14.

amorginion, **amorginon**, **amorgina** (G) A confusing term, possibly meaning either (or all of): a *garment* made on the island of Amorgos; clothing in the fashionable style of Amorgos; or fine, TRANSPARENT *cloth* from Amorgos. Although Amorgos' specific link with fine cloth is disputed (**amorgis**) fineness is clearly implied, perhaps even SILK.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 150; Antiphon, 153; Aeschines, 1.97; Richter (1929).

amorgis (G) FIBRE from Amorgos (**amorginion**). Aristophanes uses **amorgis** in describing the preparation of textile fibres by Athenian women, suggesting it indicates the origin of a familiar fibre type, e.g. FLAX (*Lysistrata* 735, 737). This is supported by **amorginion** in the clothing catalogues of BRAURON, where it is the most common fabric qualifier, connotes fineness, and describes the fabric used for various types of clothing (including *chitōn*, *chitōnion*, *chitōniskos*, *kandys*) rather than a particular style or garment. Since none of the garments is half-woven, it may indeed indicate origin. Fibre of a special type, e.g. SILK, is not totally excluded.

Cleland (2005b: 107).

ampechone, **ampechonon** (G) A fine shawl or VEIL worn by women and EFFEMINATE men – also a general term for DRAPED clothing, from *ampechomai* 'to put around, or drape'. Sometimes DEDICATED, draped on goddesses' statues.

Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.21, 39.71; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320.7, *Lysistrata* 1156; Euripides, *Ion* 1159; Llewellyn-Jones (2003); Cleland (2005b).

amphimallos, amphimallum (G/L) A CLOAK or textile, MANUFACTURED with a woolly texture on both sides. Such cloaks had recently come into use in Pliny's day (mid-first century AD).

NH 8.73.193; cf. Varro, *Latin Language* 1.5.167.

ampyx (G) Woman's diadem or FILLET (shaped like a horse's bridle): part of Andromache's complex headgear.

Iliad 22.469; Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 431; Euripides, *Hecuba* 465.

AMULETS Roman boys wore amulets (perhaps often phallic) inside a **bulla** around the neck: these, and the **lunula** worn by girls, were designed to protect the young. Emblems used on finger RINGS may also have functioned as amulets. Amber was supposed to have healing qualities (Pliny, NH 37.11.44).

Pliny, NH 29.19.66, 30.47.138; *armilla*.

anaballesthai (G) To throw on a CLOAK and DRAPE it over one shoulder so that it hangs in folds.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1132; Theophrastus, *Characters* 4.4; Plato, *Protagoras* 432c.

anadema (G and L) A FILLET or hairband: DEDICATED at BRAURON, prohibited at ANDANIA.

Euripides, *Hippolytus* 83, *Electra* 882; Lucretius, 4.1129.

anadesmē (G) Woman's hairband or FILLET, possibly twisted or plaited.

Iliad 22.469; Euripides, *Medea* 978.

anakalypteria (G) A series of RITUAL un-VEILINGS of Greek BRIDES, at significant and symbolic moments in the wedding.

Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

analeptris, analectris (G/L) Artificial figure-improving padding, held in place by bandages, cf. **strophion**.

Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.273.

anaxyrides (G) PERSIAN and Median TROUSERS, sometimes LEATHER, cut full and baggy and usually PATTERNED: nicknamed *thulakoi*, 'bags' by Athenians (Fig. 14). Also the more fitted trousers of AMAZONS (Fig. 2). Wrongly glossed by Pollux as a headcovering. Also worn by the men of PALMYRA during the later Roman empire (cf. Fig. 32).

Herodotus, 1.71; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.5.8; Euripides, *Cyclops* 182; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1087; Miller (1997).

ANDANIA An important and detailed early first century BC example of CLOTHING REGULATION from a Peloponnesian mystery cult – particularly concerned with status expressed by COST of clothing and different types of border: clear Roman influence.

IG V[1].1390; Cleland (forthcoming a); **anadema**, **hypoduma**, **kalasiris**, **parasols**, **phykos**, **porphyra**, **priests**, **sameia**, **sindonitas**, **strophion**.

angustus (L) The narrow PURPLE STRIPE (**clavus**) from shoulder to hem on TUNICS. Showed EQUESTRIAN status, also worn by plebeian tribunes.

Suetonius, *Otho* 10.1.

anthēropoikilos (G) Decorated with flowers: emphasizes the importance of PATTERN as an aspect of COLOUR and VALUE – both financial and social.

Philo, 1.666; Duigan (2005: 78–84); Wagner-Hasel (2002: 17–32); **anthinos**, **anthizō**, **poikilos**.

anthinos (G) BRIGHTLY coloured, flower-DECORATED. Such garments – associated with PROSTITUTES, and the costumes of satyrs at the Anthesteria – were subject to CLOTHING REGULATIONS at some festivals.

Strabo, 3.3.7; Phylarchus, 45; IG II 1300 (Delos); IG V(2) 541.6 (Lycosura); Loucas (1994: 97–9).

anthizō (G) To DYE, or DECORATE with flowers. Also **anthismos**, the lustre of DYES. The terms *anthobaphes*, *anthobaphia* and *anthobaphos* have similar meanings, specific to dyeing, see **baphos**.

Aristotle, *History of Animals* 547a18; *Papyrus Holmiensis* 18.25.

anthokrokos (G) SAFFRON-coloured fabric, or with floral motifs.

Euripides, *Hecuba* 471.

antion (G) The cloth beam of the LOOM, singular on the warp-weighted loom, later both top and bottom beams (Fig. 25).

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 822; Pollux, 7.36, 10.125.

anulus (L) A finger RING, especially a signet, symbolizing SENATORIAL or EQUESTRIAN status.

Suetonius, *Nero* 46.2, *Julius Caesar* 33.

anupodēteō, **anupodēsia** (G) BAREFOOT, characteristic of PHILOSOPHERS and SPARTANS.

IG V[1] 1390; Plato, *Phaedrus* 229a, *Symposium* 173b; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 103.

apex (L) A small, pointed, wool-covered shaft of olive wood, fixed to a leather cap (**galerus**) worn by Roman PRIESTS (*flamines* and Salian brothers). This distinctive feature sometimes denotes the whole cap, the priesthood, or any pointed HEADDRESS, e.g. CROWNS. **Apicatus** meant wearing the **apex**; **apiculum** was the WOOLLEN thread that covered it.

Ovid, *Fasti* 3.397; Livy, 6.41.9; Festus, 23.

aphares (G) Literally ‘without a pharos’, so NUDE, unclothed.

Euphorio, 87.

APHRODITE The Greek goddess of love, EROTICISM and sexuality (Roman Venus) had natural associations with dress. PURPLE was her colour, partly because of the MUREX’S similar origin in the sea. A magical ‘GIRDLE’ (see **kestos**, **SASHES**, Barber 1991: 257–8) was among her DIVINE ATTRIBUTES, loaned to other goddesses for extra ALLURE.

Iliad 14.181, 214–9.

apodesmos (G) A LINEN BAND wound around the female torso to support the breasts.

BRASSIERE; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320.13.

apoptygma (G) A flap of cloth or OVERFOLD.

IG II 652A20.

APOTROPAIC CLOTHING Particularly the **bullā** and **toga praetexta**, both worn by boys: the latter’s PURPLE band may originally have been intended to protect the CHILD, as both COLOUR and WOOL had apotropaic qualities, needed while they were sexually immature (Sebesta 2005: 113–20). Tiberius thought a LAUREL wreath made him lightning-proof.

Persius, 5.30–1; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 69.

APPLIQUÉ Amber, glass, ivory and GOLD motifs were SEWN onto the garments found in the rich tombs of central Italy (eighth to seventh centuries BC). Probably more common in Greek dress than literature records (Figs 11, 28, 39), often achieved with TABLET-woven bands often found on PERSIAN dress.

APPROPRIATE DRESS Elite Romans had a strong sense of what was, and was not, correct to wear on specific occasions: clothes acceptable in one situation (e.g. **synthesis** for informal dinner parties) were not so in another (e.g. conducting formal business in the forum or law courts, see **toga**). Appropriate dress was essential to high STATUS.

Magistrates were particularly expected to dress 'properly', or meet with disapproval and criticism: Cicero accuses both Verres and Mark Antony of dressing informally in GREEK attire. Particular care had to be taken with shoes: SANDALS might be worn indoors but not outdoors, where SHOES (*calcei*) were appropriate. Often, such ideas were related to both status and EFFEMINACY. Greek ideas about appropriate dress appear less fixed, and related more closely to ideologies of self, see GENDER DISTINCTIONS: overly luxurious dress might generally have been regarded as a sign of immaturity, but ideas varied by polis and period, as well as between different social occasions, see CLOTHING REGULATION, SUMPTUARY LAW.

APRONS Worn by workmen and craftsmen, not associated with FEMININE domestic roles as today. However, Martial ('Semicinctum' 14.153) may refer to an apron: he can only afford to give his mistress the front half of a TUNIC. The leather strips hanging from MILITARY BELTS (also worn by GLADIATORS) are often referred to now as 'aprons', but their Latin name is unknown: they might not have been perceived as specific garments so much as part of the belts themselves.

ARACHNE This mythological WEAVER committed an act of *hybris*, overweening pride, by failing to acknowledge the help of ATHENA (patron and inventor of the craft) in her exceptional skill and by comparing herself to the goddess. Athena challenged her to a weaving competition. Arachne wove an elaborate FIGURED textile, depicting the dubious adventures of the gods: although Athena acknowledged this as equal in quality to her own piece, she was angered by its subject, and in a rage, struck Arachne with her DISTAFF, moving her to recognize her *hybris* and to hang herself in shame. Taking pity on her, Athena brought Arachne back to life as a spider: the species now bears her name.

arbulë (G) SHOES or BOOTS in TRAGEDY.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 935.

ARCHAEOLOGY, CLOTHING AND Direct physical evidence is rare: such fragile organic artefacts perish in almost all archaeological contexts, surviving only where particular situations have limited their decay, although LEATHER, wooden items and JEWELLERY, especially GOLD, may remain more intact. Roman textiles have been preserved both in the desiccated conditions of Egypt and the near east (e.g. Mons Claudianus, Masada), and in the cold, wet, anaerobic muds of northern Europe. Archaeological evidence for later Roman textiles and dress is considerably better than for Greek, because of the empire's geographic extent and because even a few centuries of relative age can also make a difference. Generally, archaeological evidence for COLOUR is particularly poor: PATTERNS must often be reconstructed from detailed study of weaves. WOOL also survives much less well than PLANT FIBRES, skewing this aspect of the evidence. Much archaeological evidence for early dress is indirect: the impressions of textiles on pottery and oxidized metal, or the preservation of intact patterns of metal *pasmata* and other precious decorations in graves.

Archaeological evidence for early Greek dress is often provided by finds outside the culture area. Outside Egypt, notable early textile finds include those from the Hallstatt salt mines (large corpus, first millennium BC, elaborately DECORATED floating-WEFT patterns and TWILL weaves); from the excavations of Gordion (eighth century, materials including LINEN, wool, HEMP and mohair); and from the kurgans of Pazyryk (fifth to fourth centuries BC, FELT and woven cloths, EMBROIDERED and painted, FIGURED decoration, Fig. 33). Ironically, one of the earliest native Greek finds is also among the best. The Dark Age tombs at Lefkandi (c. 1000 BC) yielded an ankle-length linen TUNIC, made of two

pieces SEWN up the sides. This had a plain woven bottom half and BORDERS, and a top part with a shaggy surface of WEFT-LOOPING (cf. Fig. 3). It was accompanied by BANDS, perhaps BELTS, decorated with woven zig-zag patterns and embroidered with a pattern of meander hooks (Barber 1991: 197). Meanwhile, rare fragmentary fifth century textiles from the Athenian Kerameikos include pieces of SILK – major piece WHITE, with PURPLE STRIPES and a TABLET-WOVEN BORDER: WEAVING indicates European production (Barber 1991: 204). Hempen cloth and COTTON of similar date have been found at Trakhones: the former probably also came from the Black Sea region, the cotton from EGYPT or India (Zisis 1955: 590–2). Linen with embroidery in silver METALLIC THREAD has also been found at Koropi (Barber, 1991: 206).

Remains of garments have survived at various Roman sites: e.g. at Les Martres-de-Veyre in Gallia Lugdunensis the grave of a young woman has yielded a woollen coat with sleeves and stockings which provide evidence both for weave and CONSTRUCTION, with some evidence for colour and how they were worn. Such remains are most likely to survive in graves, but textiles have also been found in votive deposits and rubbish dumps. Many pieces of garments have also survived in dry conditions, e.g. in the Cave of the Letters in the Judaean Desert (quite precisely dated to before AD 135). The remains of tunics, cloaks and two HAIRNETS again provide valuable evidence for how the garments were made and decorated, with 34 colours attested – although only one garment (a child's tunic) is anything like intact. Shoes made of leather, fibres and wood (for the soles) have also been preserved in the dry conditions of Masada and Dura Europos as well as in the wet conditions at Saalburg and other German sites, and at Vindolanda and London in Britain (cf. 'BIKINI bottom'). Such extant remains tend to be best preserved in various of the provinces of the Roman empire rather than in Italy or the city of Rome: there are, however,

remains of both shoes (wooden soles) and some textiles from ETRUSCAN tombs in Italy.

Such finds give some valuable information about FABRICS and TEXTILE MANUFACTURING techniques, but must be used in conjunction with other SOURCES. Archaeology also provides general information: emphasizing the role of TRADE in diffusing techniques, motifs and actual textiles, even in the Bronze Age and earlier. Greek textile manufacturing practices are also located firmly within the European sphere of influence, rather than the Egyptian or near eastern, although there is no doubt that TEXTILE MOTIFS, materials and fabric were imported from these areas. Barber (1991) provides an exhaustive study.

Wild (1985: 362–422); Sebesta and Bonfante (1994); Jenkins (2003); Losfeld (1994); Hall (1986); Vickers (1999).

ARCHAIC GREEK DRESS Judging from the iconographic evidence, men and women continued to employ the basic HOMERIC garment-types, i.e. TUNIC and CLOAK for men, **peplos** and **VEIL** or wrap for women (Fig. 11). WOOL remained the Archaic staple fabric, but the use of LINEN increased, especially imported from EGYPT and Amorgos, by the late sixth century BC. Aristocratic women's woollen **peploi** could be woven with intricate designs: FIGURES of mythological scenes, or geometric patterned BORDERS. Herodotus (5.87–8) improbably records the moment that Athens abandoned DORIAN dress in favour of the IONIC **chiton**. An Athenian messenger supposedly brought back news of deaths in battle on Aegina: furious, the women stabbed the messenger to death with the BROOCHES from their **peploi**, and were consequently forced to change their dress habits. However, Attic **korai** do attest to some kind of fashionable change in this period: the earliest wear Doric garments, whereas their successors wear elaborate Ionic **chitons**. Meanwhile, the reappearance of 'archaic' Doric dress in early fifth century

iconography may be a symbol of Hellenic awareness following the Persian Wars. Thucydides proves to be an excellent source for tracing the development of FASHION from the Archaic into the CLASSICAL period (1.6.3–5). Archaic Athenian men dressed luxuriously, wearing linen *chitōns* and Ionic-style golden grasshopper-shaped HAIR-ACCESSORIES, later replaced with more modest styles in the SPARTAN tradition.

Lee (2003: 118–47); Van Wees (2005: 44–54).

arculum (L) Circlet placed on the head, used to steady sacred vessels carried in public SACRIFICES.

Festus, 16.

argenteus (L) Made of silver, or of silver COLOUR, for example, HAIR. Also **argentatus**, decorated with silver: particularly shields and SANDALS.

Pliny, *NH* 2.22.90; Livy, 9.40.3.

arma (L) ARMOUR and weapons, specifically shields. Also **armare**, to equip with arms and ARMOUR.

Livy, 45.39.5, 7.10.7–8.

armatura, armatus (L) ARMOUR. Also troops of SOLDIERS or GLADIATORS.

Livy, 26.5.3.

armifer, armiger (L) One who bears arms, is equipped with weapons or ARMOUR.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.148; Statius, *Thebaid* 6.831; Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.648.

armilla (L) Bracelet or armband worn by men and women; MILITARY DECORATION.

Plautus, *Menaechmi* 3.3.536; Livy, 10.44.5.

ARMOUR The most famous ARCHAEOLOGICAL example of MYCENAEAN armour is the ‘Dendra’, an unwieldy metal construction covering the body with a series of interlocking bronze bands from neck to

mid-thigh. By the ARCHAIC period the Greeks had developed the bronze bell corselet (e.g. eighth century BC grave, Argos). This was designed in two separate pieces (BREAST- and backplate) held together by hinges on the shoulders, and secured in use by pins on either side of the torso. It was decorated as a stylized human torso, often emphasizing idealized musculature, cf. CUIRASS (Figs 2, 39). A peculiarity was its flared bottom, allowing the wearer to crouch or even ride. In addition, SOLDIERS also wore bronze GREAVES designed to ‘snap’ (rather than strap) onto the lower leg, and sometimes upper thigh and full arm protection, ankle, and even hinged foot, armour. Eventually these were shed due to weight. The corselet itself probably weighed 18–22 kg, not ideal in the climate. LINEN corselets became a standard feature of later Greek armour: constructed from around seven layers of FABRIC sealed with resin glue, the torso parts were solid, with layered square strips of linen laid downwards at the bottom, overlapping to provide coverage and flexibility. Wide square strips to protect the shoulders were permanently attached to the backplate, and tied in front (Fig. 3).

Various kinds of body armour were worn in the Roman world, differing by period, type of soldier, rank and ethnic origin or place of service. The main evidence comes from representations in art (e.g. Trajan’s column, soldiers’ tombstones) and fragmentary ARCHAEOLOGICAL remains from military sites. The muscled CUIRASS (moulded metal or LEATHER, hinged and fastened at the sides) was inherited from the Greek and HELLENISTIC world, and worn by high-STATUS individuals such as commanders and emperors – often represented in statuary wearing cuirasses highly decorated with emblematic designs. Straps over the shoulders were tied to rings on the nipples of the cuirass. Below the armour a leather garment seems to have been worn, with **pteruges** – flaps or



Figure 3 Mythological or 'daily life' arming scene. From left: (1) Priam – all identifications uncertain – swathed in voluminous bordered **himation**, soft leather **SHOES**, age shown by baldness, **GREY** beard and **STAFF**. (2) Hector: short pleated **LINEN** tunic – note construction of 'sleeves' – fastening leather **CUIRRASS** – stiff leather shoulder straps fly up behind since not yet fastened – bronze **GREAVES**, no footwear, hair in thin **FILLET**, **HELMET** with horsehair crest. (3) Hecuba: semi-**TRANS-PARENT** linen **IONIC chitōn** under huge **epiblema**, long hair dressed in curls and ringlets, bound with a wide pleated linen **FILLET**, barefoot. Note fabric differences (torsos cf. 'skirts') on both tunics.

strips of leather – emerging from the armhole and extending below the curved lower edge of the cuirass. Mail armour (*lorica hamata* – made from interlocking iron rings) came to the Roman army from the Celts. It appears to have been worn mainly by auxiliary soldiers, but also by legionaries: representations of such mail shirts in the republican period show them reaching to mid-thigh, whereas early imperial ones are shorter.

Mail shirts had reinforcements over the shoulders and were also worn with **pteruges** round the armholes and hips,

presumably attached to an undergarment (the *subarmalis* or *thorachomachos*). Scale armour (*lorica squamata* – made of overlapping bronze or iron pieces sewn onto a fabric garment) was also worn by various kinds of Roman soldiers. Lammellar armour was similar in concept and developed from scale armour: longer pieces of **RAWHIDE** or metal were laced onto the backing material in horizontal rows. Examples of this kind of armour have been found at Dura Europos – it may have been used especially in the eastern part of the Roman empire. Body armour made up of

curved bands or strips of metal – worn with a padded undergarment – bound around the body and over the shoulders was termed *lorica segmentata*, and appears to have been a Roman invention (used from the early first to early third centuries AD) possibly derived from gladiatorial armour. This is the standard type of armour for legionaries represented on Trajan's column in Rome, but is not shown on the Trajanic monument at Adamklissi – chain mail is depicted instead. Fragmentary remains of three sets of *lorica segmentata* from the reign of Hadrian have been found at Corbridge: these are made of iron, fastened by leather straps and BUCKLES – straps and buckles were gradually replaced by hooks and eyes. Some more exotic forms of armour (e.g. crocodile- and hippopotamus-skin) are known to have existed in the Roman world, but it is not known who wore them, or when. In addition to body armour, some legionaries also wore an armguard (*manica*) and greaves (*ocreae*), made of metal or other materials such as thick LINEN or LEATHER, although these were particularly associated with ranks of centurion and above.

Connelly (1998); Goldsworthy (2003); Hanson (1989); HELMETS, *gymnos*, *himas*, *lorica*, *nudus*, *pilos*.

arsineum (L) A woman's HEADDRESS.

Festus, 20.

ART AS EVIDENCE FOR CLOTHING Whether Greek painted vases or Roman statues, art is a major source of evidence for dress in the ancient world, providing valuable visual evidence for the structure and decoration of garments and how they were worn, but this evidence is seldom an unproblematic representation of real, everyday clothing (see POTTERY, PATTERNS OF TEXTILE ORIGIN, REPRESENTATIONS OF DRESS). The images in Egyptian tomb paintings, Persian wall reliefs, Greek POTTERY, Roman imperial

monuments, etc. may follow anachronistic artistic conventions with little connection to contemporary reality, especially when dealing with MYTHOLOGICAL subjects. Even portraits of specific individuals – statues, reliefs, paintings and other media, e.g. coins – many made to honour or commemorate the living or dead need not necessarily represent the subject's actual dress. Such images were designed to project a certain view, possibly quite fictitious, at the very least showing their best – not everyday – clothes. Egyptian noblewomen are represented in fine pleated linen gala dresses, and full WIG with perfumed cone, not the simple linen shift dresses routinely worn and Roman provincials might be represented on tombstones in *togas* rarely worn in life. Many images are conventionalized: bodies for portrait statues of Roman women are mostly based on fourth-century BC Greek statue types and even when artists depict contemporary dress they may not reproduce all its details accurately. Little colour survives on statues – for colours and decoration we are largely dependent on paintings and mosaics, but these may be the colours readily available in that particular medium rather than in textiles. Clothing can, however, be represented in some unexpected media, such as terracotta lamps in the shape of a sandalled foot or flip-flop-shaped glass bottles.

ARTEMIS Unlike ATHENA, she is not particularly associated with the primary domestic art of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE, instead, embodying oppositional aspects of Greek FEMININITY, including HUNTING, wilderness, and aggressive virginity (Fig. 10). Artemis was held to preside over the lives of young girls before they had been 'tamed' by marriage and so was propitiated during rites of passage – the WEDDING, and its completion in childbirth, when women DEDICATED garments to Artemis. We have most evidence of this from her sanctuary at BRAURON near Athens, including literary references to young girls 'playing the Bear' (see *krokōtos*)

but also some of the most extensive EPIGRAPHIC evidence for Greek clothing. Artemis has a number of clothing-related DIVINE ATTRIBUTES, including the short forms of the **chitōn** (**chitōnaron**, **chitōniskos**) also associated with AMAZONS and other active females, and **endromides**, characteristic of normal hunting dress.

asbestinum, ASBESTOS (L) Cloth of asbestos, which was CLEANED but not burnt by fire. This illustrates that any fibre long and flexible enough to be WOVEN was at least considered for textile potential.

Pliny, *NH* 19.4.19–20, 37.54.146; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131.

asemus (L) TUNIC without a **clavus**.

SHA *Alexander Severus* 33.4.

asma, **diasma** (G) The WARP: specifically the HEADING-BAND on the warp-weighted loom.

Callimachus, *Fr.* 244; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 6.151; Barber (1991: 271).

assumentum (L) Literally, SEWN to, so a patch. From **suo**, cf. **cento**.

Vulgate, *Mark* 2.21.

astrochitōen (G) TUNIC WOVEN or EMBROIDERED with star-motifs cf. **poikileimōn**.

Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 40.408.

ATHENA This goddess had an important association with textiles in Greek culture and mythology (Figs 10, 23). One of her epithets was **pēnitis**, the Weaver: she introduced this essential art, being patron of its practitioners, see ARACHNE. In honour of this, the people of Attica presented the goddess (and her statue) with a specially woven **peplos** – whose production was an important ritual process – at the Panathenaic festival each year (Neils 1991). It was the special saffron, **krokos** colour associated with FEMININITY and RITUAL, worked with

elaborate patterns, probably including figurative decoration. Garments were also dedicated to Athena in temple treasuries, and several of her divine attributes in art and myth were clothing based, especially the AEGIS, but also the **kyneē**, or soldier's cap. Athena's sphere of influence included, through war and WEAVING, the defining activities of **metis** – cunning or complexity – for both men and women. This complex of association is elaborated by the use of weaving as a metaphor for politics in Greek philosophy: Athena was a particularly political deity.

Aeschylus, *Eumenides*; Scheid and Svenbro (1996).

ATHLETES The Greek words *gymnazomai* ('I exercise my body') and *gymnasion* ('place for exercise') refer directly to exercising in the NUDE (**gymnos**): not only to free the body from the constraints of clothing, but also to allow athletes and spectators the opportunity to observe the perfected human body in action, usually highlighted by the use of PERFUMED oils. Nudity was so much a part of the male gymnasium experience that the naked body can be thought of as a 'COSTUME' for athletes. The importance of athletics in ancient Greek life meant that many gymnasium scenes were included in the repertoire of designs on POTTERY – favoured since athletes were considered the ultimate examples of MASCULINE beauty. Female athletes may have performed nude in female-only contests or environments, but evidence suggests that most wore short TUNICS (**chitōniskos**) cf. CHARIOTEERS. In Rome, nudity for male athletes was not as acceptable, and female athletes wore leather 'BIKINIS'.

Bonfante (1989); **campestre**, **cursoriae**, **endromides**, **gallicae**, **himas**, **mitra**, **nudus**, **pellytra**, **perizoma**, **tainia**, **WREATH**.

atraktos (G) A SPINDLE.

Herodotus, 4.34, 162; Plato, *Republic* 616c.

atratus (L) Wearing MOURNING, therefore BLACK dress.

Tacitus, *Annals* 3.2; Suetonius, *Galba* 18.2, *Nero* 47.2.

attalicus (L) 'Cloth of gold', woven or embroidered with gold METALLIC THREAD, named after the kings of Pergamum: Pliny says Attalus invented it, but he probably instigated its manufacture in state-owned workshops. It became popular after the death of Attalus III in 133 BC, when his personal possessions, including clothing and other textiles, came to Rome.

NH 8.74.96.

attomai, diazomai (G) To set the WARP on the LOOM, see **asma**.

Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds* 4; Barber (1991: 271).

AUGUSTUS Clothing played a significant part in the first emperor's attempts to restore the traditional morality of Rome – e.g. reviving the customs that Roman wives and daughters should SPIN and WEAVE household clothing, and that girls should wear the **toga**: both short-lived. During his reign, the traditional **toga** was transformed

into a larger and more elegant garment, whose use in public by all Roman citizens was promoted and partially enforced, as was the traditional **stola** of MATRONS. Augustus himself is reported to have suffered from the cold in winter, wearing an undertunic, four tunics and leggings under his **toga**.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 64.2, 40.5, 82.1.

aulaeum (L) Highly DECORATED hangings or garments.

Virgil, *Georgics* 3.25; Juvenal, 10.39; Nonius, 861L.

aureus (L) Made of gold or gilded, also refers to gold-coloured and bright YELLOW female garments. Also **auratus**, made of GOLD or gold-COLOURED.

barba, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12.395; **cingula**, Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.492; **auratus**, Ovid, *Fasti* 2.310; Livy, 9.40.3.

autoschedes (G) A simple type of woman's SHOES.

azōstos (G) Without a BELT, not girded, see **zōster**.

Callimachus, *Fr.* 225; Plato, *Laws* 945a.

B

BABIES See SWADDLING.

babylonica (L) Light SHOES or sandals of fine leather, worn by both sexes.

Price Edict of Diocletian 8.1, 9.17.

babylonicus (L) With FIGURED decoration, of garments and shoes: as a noun, decorated textiles, TAPESTRY.

Pliny, *NH* 8.74.196; Lucretius, 4.1029.

BACKMANTLE An ETRUSCAN female garment (early seventh century BC, apparently a short-lived FASHION, disappears by the early sixth century): a long rectangular piece of material fastened to the shoulders, hanging down the back to the hem of the *chiton*; hair was worn in a single braid on top of the mantle.

baculum, baktron (L/G) Walking stick or STAFF. Latin *ad baculum*, '(appeal) to the stick', refers to its use to beat an opponent or enemy.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 202; Livy, 1.54.6.

BAGS Greek and Roman clothing did not have pockets (see BELTS): small items were carried in clothing folds, e.g. *sinus*. Money could be kept in a pouch (*marsupium*) carried in the hand, or attached to the belt.

Larger bags (*crumina*) were worn around the neck or slung diagonally across the body. Cutpurses appear in comedy.

Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.183, *Comedy of Asses* 3.3.657–63.

balteus (L) Roman BELTS of various kinds, but especially a diagonal sword-belt, possibly of ETRUSCAN origin. Also used for MILITARY belts worn on the waist/hips in the early empire, and (poetically) women's GIRDLES. **Balteus** is used by modern commentators to denote the diagonal folds of a *toga* – left shoulder to under the right arm – which, in the later second and early third centuries AD, were tightly twisted, forming a prominent feature further developed in the following century. This modern usage does not appear to have an ancient parallel.

Tacitus, *Histories* 1.57; Seneca, *Madness of Hercules* 543; Quintilian, 11.3.140.

BANDS Bands *on* garments, and bands *as* garments often overlap (e.g. *peza*, *limbus*, *paragauda*): TABLET-WOVEN bands could be APPLIQUÉD decoration, or BELTS or sashes in their own right (Figs 28, 36). Cloths woven on the warp-weighted LOOM would also have an integral HEADING-BAND which secured the WARP. For clarity, different types are dealt with separately under BORDERS, STRIPES and FILLETS respectively.

baphē, bamma (G) A DYE, especially SAFFRON.

Aeschylus, *Persians* 317, *Agamemnon* 239; Armstrong and Hanson (1986: 97–100); Plato, *Laws* 956a.

bapheion/baphium (G/L) Workplace where DYE is made and/or sold.

Strabo 16.2.23; SHA *Alexander Severus* 40.6; *Code of Theodosius* 10.20.18.

bapheus (G/L) A DYE-worker.

Plato, *Republic* 429d; *Code of Justinian* 11.8.2.

baptō (G) To DYE, literally, dip.

Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 1011; Plato, *Republic* 429d; Herodotus, 7.67; Barber (1991: 275).

baptos (G) DYED, therefore BRIGHT-coloured.

himatia, Aristophanes, *Wealth* 530, *Birds* 287; Plutarch, *Agessilaus* 30; Plato, *Laws* 847c.

barba (L) The BEARD.

alba, Plautus, *Bacchides* 5.1.1100; aurea, Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 3.34.83; Juvenal, 16.31.

BARBARIANS The Greeks recognized many variations in the dress of non-Greeks: literature often comments on foreign clothing and how it differs from that of the Greek world. (Herodotus frequently notes the unfamiliar dress habits of barbarian peoples, e.g. EGYPTIANS, Babylonians, Persians and Scythians, *Histories* 1.135, 2.37.) Likewise Greek art often plays up regional differences in dress: PERSIANS are depicted very differently from Greeks, see AMAZONS. Greeks generally regarded items such as TROUSERS (anaxyrides), COATS (kandys), SLEEVES (cheiridōtos) and HATS (e.g. PHRYGIAN CAPS) as generic aspects of barbarian dress.

Similarly, non-Roman peoples were characterized in Roman art by their dress: representations of 'barbarians' were often

stereotyped. Long trousers were the barbarian garment par excellence to the Romans (Fig. 31): the close-fitting **bracae** of GALLIC and GERMAN DRESS, or the looser versions of the EAST. Barbarians are generally represented as ultimately defeated and subdued enemies: although sometimes attempts were made to distinguish different ethnic and cultural groups by their dress (e.g. Celtic **torques**, Suebian hair-knots, REGIONAL DIFFERENCES), 'real' costume often tended to be adapted to enhance this artistic message. (Thus a Jewish prisoner may be represented wearing **bracae**, associated by the Romans with barbarism, but probably not worn in contemporary Judaea.) Animal SKINS or FURS, other rough and hairy FABRICS and relative nakedness emphasized uncivilized natures. Tacitus describes Germans wearing only a CLOAK (*Germania* 17): in art they are more often represented in trousers, with bare chests and cloaks (without the long-sleeved TUNIC of reality). Dacians are represented (e.g. Trajan's column, or Tropaeum Trajani, Adamklissi) wearing long-sleeved tunics (slit high up the sides), with trousers of the looser eastern type and soft PHRYGIAN CAPS. Eastern barbarians (e.g. Parthian on BREASTPLATE of Prima Porta Augustus) wear loose-fitting tunics belted at the waist over loose-fitting trousers; various hats were also worn. Wild (1985: 377) suggests that trousers were abandoned in PROVINCIAL DRESS after conquest by Rome, reinforcing their 'barbaric' image: long-sleeved tunics also tended to go out of fashion under Roman rule. Female barbarians tend to be less clearly differentiated by dress, and not always easily distinguished in art from female personifications of regions or peoples: they wear long, often trailing, dresses which sometimes reveal their arms and shoulders.

barbatoria (L) RITUAL first shaving of the BEARD.

Petronius, 73.6.

barbatos/barbatus (G/L) Bearded, sign of an adult or PHILOSOPHER.

Plato, *Meno* 854; Juvenal, 4.103; Martial, 14.81.

barbatulus, barbula (L) Small beard, regarded as EFFEMINATE.

Jerome, *Letters* 117. n. 6, 10.

bardaicus (L) A MILITARY shoe or BOOT, named after an Illyrian tribe.

Juvenal, 16.13; Martial, 4.4.5 (*vardaicus*).

bardocucullus (L) A type of **cucullus** or hooded CLOAK, associated with GAUL and possibly named after the Illyrian Bardaei. It was a coarse wool cloak designed for heavy-duty outdoor wear, with the natural grease (lanolin) retained for WATER-PROOFING; it may have eventually replaced the **paenula**.

Martial, 14.128; 1.53.5.

BAREFOOT FOOTWEAR was not ubiquitous in ancient dress. However, the wearing of various types of SHOE had STATUS and GENDER implications and perhaps partly because of these, being barefoot was seen as characteristic of PHILOSOPHERS. Going without shoes was also an important aspect of RITUAL dress in Greek culture, and was required by various CLOTHING REGULATIONS. For Roman men, even wearing the wrong sort of shoes – usually sandals or soft shoes designed for indoor wear – was regarded as being essentially barefoot and invited criticism.

Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 9.30; Cicero, *Against Piso* 6.13; Livy, 29.19.12.

BATHING, CLOTHES FOR There are few references in Roman literature to specific clothes for bathing: Alexander Severus returned from the public baths wearing only a bathing costume (*vestis balnearis*) and a PURPLE CLOAK, and a bathing costume of some unspecified kind was among the items supplied to provincial

governors. Otherwise, literary and artistic evidence suggests that men and women bathed NUDE (though **nudus** does not necessarily mean completely naked, and could include a LOINCLOTH or small kilt, while women might wear a **subligar**). Bathers clearly *were* expected to change out of street dress, leaving it in the changing room (*apodyterium*), ideally with a slave, as THEFT of clothes at baths was common. Wooden-soled SANDALS were worn to protect the feet from heat and damp in bathing rooms, and were represented in mosaic at doorways in various baths, presumably as a reminder. Clothes such as light TUNICS for men and BIKINI-like garments for women might be worn while exercising at the baths.

SHA Alexander Severus 42.1.4; Martial, 3.87.4.

bathykolpos (G) Literally, ‘deep bosomed’: woman’s **peplos** arranged with a deep flounce (**kolpos**) at the front. An epithet for well-dressed Trojan women in Homer.

Iliad 18.122, 339, 24.215, cf. **helkesipeplos**.

bathypeplos (G) A long voluminous garment worn by both sexes, see **peplos**.

Quintus Smyrnaeus, 13.552.

bathystolmos (G) A full robe, possibly with a deep OVERFOLD.

Strabo, 11.14.12.

batracheios (G) Literally, ‘of a frog’, therefore, GREEN.

of malachite (*batrachion*) Synesius, *Alchemista* p64B; of colour, Aristophanes, *Knights* 523.

batrachis (G) A ‘frog-GREEN’ garment.

Aristophanes, *Knights* 1406; Cleland (2005: 91–3).

baukides (G) Elaborate SHOES or boots, dyed SAFFRON, with cork heels for extra height (especially connected with PROSTITUTES).

Athenaeus, 13.23.568; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 342; Herodas, 7.58.

baxea, baxa (L.) A woven SHOE worn by PHILOSOPHERS and comic ACTORS.

Plautus, *Menaechmi* 2.3.391.

BEADS Made of metal, glass, bone, shell, GEMS or even seeds, beads were used as JEWELLERY, or SEWN onto garments as DECORATION. They often survive ARCHAEOLOGICALLY, providing useful information even when the original garment has decayed. However, neither Greek nor Roman dress made particularly meaningful or SYMBOLIC use of beading as an aspect of clothing, cf. **pasmatia**.

Swift (2003: 31–7).

BEARD, BEARDS Ancient Egyptians shaved their beards and heads: priests even shaved the entire body every third day. However, Pharaohs (Fig. 13) often wore an artificial beard as a signifier of supreme rank and MASCULINITY: Queen Hatshepsut therefore used one during her reign. In the near east beards were the mark of civilized and powerful men: Assyrian and PERSIAN nobles wore their beards set in ringlets and fixed with PERFUMED oil (Figs 14, 35, 49). The Assyrians generally treated their beards with great care and veneration – the punishment for adultery was to have the beard publicly cut off. In Greece, the older men of Athens competed in the excellence of their beards. Beard trimming became an art and barbers important citizens: statesmen, poets and PHILOSOPHERS frequented their shops to have their beards trimmed, or curled and scented with costly essences, and to discuss the news of the day – the barber shops of ancient Greece were headquarters for social, political and sporting news. In the third century BC Alexander the Great began the vogue for a clean-shaven face, which persisted for several centuries: the Romans were great patrons of barbers. The leaders of the state usually led FASHION: when the

philhellene Hadrian became emperor, beards became fashionable again. However, during periods of mourning, the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Jews allowed their beards to go untrimmed.

Peterkin (2002); Lewis (1995: 432–41) **barba**, **barbatoria**, **barbatus**, **barbatulus**, GREEK DRESS.

BELTS Various types of belt (GIRDLE, SASH) were essential to the CONSTRUCTION of Greek dress: worn around the waist or chest, fitting TUNICS to the body, and fixing FOLDS and pouches. They might be made of LEATHER, or individually TABLET-WOVEN (overlapping with head-bands and FILLETS). Belts are not much emphasized in artistic sources for everyday Greek dress (perhaps due to the loss of painted decoration), but SOLDIERS and ATHLETES wore wider, specialized belts.

Literary sources, however, indicate a variety of abstract or SYMBOLIC significances. Cultic CLOTHING REGULATIONS frequently prohibit belts (also FILLETS and RINGS). Both Hera and APHRODITE possessed belts of magical seductive powers (**zōnē**, **kestos**) which may hark back to the prehistoric string skirt, a symbol of feminine fertility and sexuality: the DEDICATION of a belt to ARTEMIS was part of the pre-wedding ritual for young women (Barber 1991: 255–9). Unbelted dress – without the pouches belting formed, used as pockets – demonstrated honesty (cf. **licium**). EGYPTIAN dress was generally not belted: like preference for WHITE clothing and LINEN, this may have been yet another Egyptian influence on Greek religion and ritual.

In pre-Roman Italy, the oval or lozenge-shaped ‘Villanovan’ belt of the eighth to seventh centuries BC seems to have been a prestigious item, worn by men (with the **perizoma**) and by women (over TUNICS). It was made of shaped metal plates sewn or glued onto a cloth or leather backing, hinged at the sides and fastened at the back: an example was found in the Barberini tomb at

Praeneste. It is replaced around 600 BC by a simpler belt of leather fastened with a buckle, or of tied fabric; by the HELLENISTIC period ETRUSCAN men generally wear their tunics unbelted and women are shown wearing narrow belts fastened high under the breasts, see **amitros**, **kestos**. SAMNITE men and women are shown in vase- and tomb-paintings wearing a broad belt: gilded examples have been found in Capua (sixth to third centuries BC) but most are bronze. Fastened by hooks into holes, they were probably lined with cloth or leather.

Roman belts distinguished civilians and soldiers in the Roman empire: LEATHER belts with BUCKLES appear only rarely in depictions of civilians, who instead wore tied cloth or cord belts. Men and boys of the upper classes rarely appeared unbelted in public except at FUNERALS (Suetonius, *Augustus* 100.4), Saturnalia, or as defendants in court. The lower orders, however, often wore tunics without belts, which therefore signify STATUS. A loosely fastened belt was considered EFFEMINATE (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.3). Women sometimes wore tunics belted high, in Hellenistic fashion, but are also represented belted round the waist or hips. Up to the third century AD, these belts appear to be made of twisted cords simply tied, with short ends left hanging: they could be a variety of COLOURS. Later, more elaborate kinds of belt appear, with jewelled buckles or decorations: by the late fourth century, belts might be set with several jewels.

Belts (**balteus**, **cingulum militare**) were also a specific symbol distinguishing soldiers from civilians, even off-duty. A mild MILITARY punishment involved the offending soldier standing in camp without his belt (Suetonius, *Augustus* 24.2). In the earlier part of the first century AD soldiers are shown wearing two crossing narrow belts, leather with bronze buckles, loose enough to sit on the hip at one side: the sword on one, dagger on the other. These were later replaced by a single broader belt, the sword suspended from a baldric.

Higher ranks wore a LINEN belt tied over their muscled CUIRASS.

amitrochitōnes, **amitros**, **chitōn orthostadios**, **chitōn**, **euzōnos**, **hamma parthenais**, **himas**, **kestos**, **kolpos**, **kolpōma**, **limbus**, **zeira**, **zōstēr**, **zōstos**.

beudos (G) A woman's robe or dress, possibly RED-PURPLE.

Sappho, *Fr.* 155; Callimachus, *Fr.* 155.

bigerrica (L) A winter cloak made from a shaggy SHEEP fleece, worn by the Gallic Biggeriones of Aquitania.

Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus* 2.1.

BIKINI Roman women wore BREASTBANDS, and occasionally garments like BRIEFS, but are only rarely shown wearing both: the classic instance is the so-called 'bikini-girls' on a mosaic from Piazza Armerina (Sicily, fourth century AD). Such garments would seem to have been worn by women ATHLETES or acrobats – there is no evidence that they were worn for swimming or sunbathing.

Stafford (2005: 96–110).

birrus/byrrus (L) A WATERPROOF cloak of Gallic origin: modern authors have speculated that it was similar to the **sagum**, **lacerna** or **paenula**, but there is insufficient evidence to support any of these, and the birrus has not been unequivocally identified in artistic representations. It may have had a hood (**cucullus**) and seems to have been made in a range of different qualities (*SHA Carinus* 20.6 implies good quality, whereas *Code of Theodosius* 14.10.1 says SLAVES might wear it). The word appears quite late, being unused in extant literature before the second century AD, but was quite common throughout the Roman world by AD 300. In the Church Fathers the birrus is worn by the clergy.

Price Edict of Diocletian 19.32–42; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogus* 1.21.4.

bisolis (L.) A thick-soled SHOE.

Price Edict of Diocletian 9.12, 15.

BLACK Greek TRAGEDY shows a clear association between black garments and MOURNING which persists throughout the Roman period. Its important feature is darkness, however, not simply black as a socially appropriate colour for mourning. Greek and Roman culture had no 'little black dress' or dark suit expressing sober MASCULINITY: although black was certainly a primary colour, there was nothing simple about its associations. Although **melas** is one of the simpler Greek colour terms, it included all dark shades, not simply 'pure' black, as did **pullus** – Latin has other main black terms, **atratus** and **niger**, denoting flat and glossy black respectively, while Greek describes glossy black colours by **porphyreos**, or **melas** with **lampros** or another BRIGHT term. Dark colours would have been achieved relatively easily, and in the course of use, with repeated DYEING, garments would tend toward them. Black colours are explicitly opposed to the RITUAL purity of WHITE dress, echoing the deliberate DIRTYING of clothing as an aspect of grief – the unusual emphasis on the COLOUR black in tragedy may replace this dirt for opulent STAGE COSTUMES. Limitation of extravagant mourning is part of SUMPTUARY legislation in most periods: occasional Greek requirements for white or GREY mourning dress perhaps curtailed pure black dress as more SYMBOLICALLY obvious – and conspicuously consumptive – than dark, dirtied clothing. (Deep blacks were probably relatively rare, and, once dyed black, a garment was unalterable, unlike one that was simply dirtied.) Black is also the colour of mourning in MYTHOLOGY – Demeter wears a dark **kalumma**, and chthonic deities and personifications like Night are characteristically black-clad, **melanophoros** – and is common in hero cults. Black garments appear in a variety of everyday contexts in

Roman literature; the **lacerna** was commonly black or white, and **calcei senatorii** were black. Cicero's description of Verres' **tunica pulla** is a double contrast: the tunic, not the **toga** proper to a Roman magistrate, and a dark colour as opposed to the **toga pura** of an adult man.

Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.4.24 (54); Stratiki (2004: 106–9).

blattarius; blattifer (L.) A PURPLE-DYER; wearer of PURPLE-DYED cloth

Sidonius, *Letters* 9.16.22.

blaution (G.) A thin-soled SHOE.

Plato, *Symposium* 174a; Aristophanes, *Knights* 889.

BLEACHES The most common bleaching agents in antiquity were ammonia (from urine) and various plant acids with sunlight. Given the generally off-white colour of textile FIBRES, bleaching was important in achieving WHITENESS of clothing (**toga candida** cf. **toga pura**) appropriate for RITUAL use. However, bleaching would have degraded most DYES used for patterns or BORDERS on white clothes. Bleaching was also part of the FULLING process.

BLUE This COLOUR had remarkably few SYMBOLIC associations in Greek and Roman dress, perhaps because it was not fully conceptualized as an independent category of colour in either language (Cleland 2003). Nevertheless, there are a number of terms for garments, primarily **glaukos** and **kyaneos** in Greek, **venetus** in Latin, and the shared terms **amethystinatus** and **thalassinos**. **Kyaneos** was a dark blue, mainly used of MOURNING dress, almost synonymously with **melas**, while **glaukinos** was lighter, including blue, green and grey. It is used for blue eyes, and garments and wool at BRAURON, suggesting that it had a clear, non-poetic, import to native speakers (cf. Maxwell-Stuart 1981). Blue

textiles would mainly have been achieved by DYEING with woad (*isatis*) and later with indigo (*indicum*) imported along with COTTON from India.

bombycinus (L) SILK clothing.

Pliny, *NH* 11.26.76; Martial, 14.24.

bombyx (L) Any fine textile, specifically SILK.

Propertius, 2.3.15.

BOOTS High boots that covered the foot, the ankle and the whole or part of the shin were made of LEATHER, sometimes lined with FELT or FUR for extra warmth. Originally a generic term for footwear, by the fifth century BC **embas** mainly meant a rough cheap boot, worn outdoors by men. This was made of leather with a long tongue hanging over the top in front of the lacing, and separate linings (*piloi*, *pellytra*) of thin leather, which sometimes had overhanging flaps on the top edges. *Lakonikai* – ‘SPARTANS’ – were a better class of **embas**, normally RED in colour but sometimes WHITE, and may actually have been TRADED from Sparta. **Embatai** or **embades** were leather cavalry boots. The **kothornos**, meanwhile, was a soft unlaced high boot, pulled on and worn on either foot, generally by women, it was seen as EFFEMINATE for men. By HELLENISTIC and Roman times the **kothornos** may have been slit and laced. Those of tragic ACTORS had platform soles: although said to have been invented by Aeschylus, they seem not to have been used until Hellenistic times. Meanwhile, **caligae** were the standard Roman military boots of the first century AD, shod with HOBNAILS to protect the sole from wear, but replaced in the second century by a more enclosed form of boot similar to the kind worn by civilians. Fancy boots which came high up the calf and were elaborately decorated (e.g. with panther heads) are shown worn on statues of Roman generals and emperors, but they

may not reflect any real fashion, being rather artistic fantasies.

Xenophon, *Art of Horsemanship* 12.10; Aristophanes, *Lyistrata* 656–7, *Wasps* 1158; Herodotus, 1.155; *bardaicus*, *baukides*, *calcamen*, *calceus*, *endromides*, *hypodēma*, *impilia*, *karbatinai*, *krēpis*, *pedilon*, *sikyōnia*.

BORDERS Since WEAVING was the main mode of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE, borders (BANDS or STRIPES) were the primary form of DECORATION. The simple border – parallel to the direction of the WEFT – is the easiest and least time-consuming form of in-woven decoration (*enhyphaino*, *paryphainō* Figs 30). It is also possible to TABLET-WEAVE complex narrow patterns relatively easily, for APPLIQUÉ to plain woven cloth (Fig. 11, 28). Of all forms of textile decoration, such simple borders were the most universally available, and so were a prime site for SYMBOLIC significance. This is particularly clear in the overt distinctions of role and STATUS expressed by the *praetexta* border in Roman dress, but borders were also important in Greek dress, emphasized in both art and CLOTHING REGULATIONS. Borders could be woven all around textiles (*periēgētos*, *cyclas*) or incorporate luxury materials: GOLD (*chrysoparyphos*) or PURPLE (*paralourges*). They seem to have been particularly common on some garments (*chitōniskos*, *ependytēs*, *himation*) and might even be distinguishing features (*parhyphē*). The wide variety of border terms used in EPIGRAPHIC catalogues of DEDICATED garments can be somewhat bewildering to translate, because they all refer to something we see simply as ‘a border’. However, such lists distinguish between various positionings (*kraspedon*, *legnon*, *parabolon*), patterns (*ktenōtos*, *parakymatios*, *parapoikilos*, *thermastis*) and widths (*platyalourgēs*).

Cloths woven on the warp-weighted LOOM needed a HEADING-BAND to fix the beginning of the WARP: visible as textural PATTERN because of its distinct weave, even

without contrasting colour (*praetexta*, literally 'woven before' Fig. 45, Barber 1991: 192), this band could be replicated as a finishing border using the same technique, i.e. the warp of the textile for the weft of the border. Separate sheds, and different types of LOOM-WEIGHT, were used to WEAVE borders along the vertical edges of textiles – where extra care was necessary anyway to create even, wear-resistant SELVAGES (Barber 1991: 135–6). Complex borders were also created using extra thread in a contrasting COLOUR introduced for a spell alongside the main weft, or TAPESTRY (Figs 39, 46). Of course, borders could also be EMBROIDERED, but this was – unlike sporadic motifs – a time-consuming way of doing something which could be relatively easily woven.

Cleland (2005b); Miller (1997).

botronatus (L) A female HAIR ACCESSORY – possibly a hair pin securing a VEIL.

Cyprian, *Dress of Virgins* 98.

BOXING GLOVES The Greek boxing GLOVE developed from simple strips of leather wound round the fists and lower arms into something more like a long glove that left the fingertips free, fastened by leather straps, with a knuckle-duster. This type was inherited by the Romans; the *caestus* covered not only the hands but also much of the arms, and early leather knuckle-dusters may have been replaced by more vicious bronze ones with jagged edges.

bracae (L) Loose-fitting TROUSERS, usually full-length and baggy, secured at the waist and ankles with ties or cords, predominantly worn by Gauls. In the first and second centuries AD *bracae* were considered a BARBARIAN garment by the Romans, and regarded with contempt. Although Roman soldiers and cavalymen, including generals and emperors, are sculpted wearing close-fitting below the knee trousers (BREECHES), given this contempt, these

were probably not called *bracae*, see *feminalia*. Alexander Severus had WHITE *bracae* rather than the usual SCARLET, and gave away military clothing including *bracae*, so by the early third century AD military breeches could certainly also be termed *bracae*. Even by AD 397, wearing *bracae* was considered improper in the city of Rome: an edict – presumably referring to barbarian long trousers not SOLDIERS' breeches – forbade them with severe penalties.

Belgic STRIPED *bracae*, Propertius, 4.10.43; SHA *Alexander Severus* 40.5, 11; Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.29.

bracatus (L) Wearing TROUSERS: therefore also, belonging to a northern BARBARIAN tribe. Pliny calls Transalpine Gaul *Gallia bracata*, while Cisalpine Gaul is *Gallia togata*.

NH 3.4.31; Propertius, 3.4.17.

bracchiale, bracchialis (L) A BRACELET or armlet.

Pliny, NH 28.23.82; SHA *Life of Claudius* 14.5.

BRACELETS, ROMAN This type of JEWELLERY was popular in the Roman PROVINCES, being worn by women (rarely men) throughout the empire, especially in the later imperial period. Bracelets took several forms using a variety of materials, including precious and base metals: cast, made of twisted strands of wire, or cut from sheet metal and stamped with a design – distinctive snake shapes were enduringly popular. Bone and ivory, jet and shale, or glass – cast, or beads threaded onto wire with metal fastenings – were also used. Bracelets were often worn in pairs – one on each wrist – but there appears to have been a particular FASHION in PANNONIA for young women to wear up to ten bracelets on the left arm, with two on the right (cf. Figs 13, 35, 49).

brakos (G) Generic term for 'cloth'; a long robe or TUNIC.

Sappho, 70; Theocritus, 28.11.

BRASSIERES Bust supports were probably widely worn by Greek and Roman women, given their practical necessity: comparative absence in iconography is explained by ancient art's tendency to depict ideals, not historical realities. However, from the HELLENISTIC period, there is an increase in the representation of various types of brassiere owing to the EROTICIZATION of the NUDE female in art and the variation offered by depicting UNDERWEAR. Roman art represents breastbands as garments worn by female ATHLETES, acrobats and other entertainers (e.g. 'BIKINI-girls' mosaic). Some women in love-making scenes (e.g. brothel at Pompeii) are shown wearing only a breastband: Venus and the Nymphs are also on occasion shown wearing them as DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. Greek and Roman breastbands would appear to have been simply a long strip of cloth, which wrapped round the breasts with the end tucked in to hold it in place – therefore long enough to wrap around the breasts at least twice. They might be used to flatten breasts considered too big (Terence, *Eunuch* 313–7; Nonius, 863L), or to enhance small breasts (padding, uplift, cleavage: *mamillare*, Martial, 14.66; *fascia*, 14.134). Evidence of regular use by Roman women includes: P. Clodius wearing a breastband while dressed as a woman to gatecrash the woman-only rites of Bona Dea; Ovid's suggestion that a breastband was a good place to hide love letters; and taking the breastband off for sex described as unusual.

Cicero, *Clodius* 15.21–4; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.621; Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 10.21; Stafford (2005: 96–110); *kestos*, *mastodeton*, *strophion*.

BRAURON, CATALOGUES OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA These inscribed lists of DEDICATED clothing are, despite their fragmentary state, an important resource for the

study of Greek clothing. Dating from six years in the mid-fourth century BC, partial lists record items displayed in the TEMPLE TREASURY of Artemis at Brauron near Athens. The collection, like many other temple treasuries, also contained other types of dedications, including precious metal. But its collection of clothing was remarkably wide and, as such, the inscribed lists distinguish these many garments from one another by using not only garment type descriptions, but also by describing a wide range of different kinds of PATTERN decoration and, to a lesser extent, COLOUR, FABRIC and variants of form such as FOLDS or pleating, doubling and metal spangles. In most cases, they also name the female dedicant, often in conjunction with her male connections – husband and/or father, and deme. Perhaps the main import of these lists is to emphasize how few of the details of ancient dress are conveyed by the incidental descriptions we find in LITERARY sources: they are a major contributor to our knowledge of Greek clothing vocabulary. However, this contribution is inevitably problematic, simply because of the list format: words are often abbreviated and there is little context for the many words only found here. Nevertheless, these descriptions emphasize the great importance of DECORATION as a factor of Greek dress in this period, and indicate the recognized presence of a wide variety of distinctive garment and decorative types.

Cleland (2005b).

BREASTBAND See BRASSIERE, UNDERWEAR

BREASTPLATE The front half of the CUIRASS, covering the torso – the back being the 'dorsal plate'. The popular 'muscle cuirass' reproduced the musculature of the torso in ideal and exaggerated form. The more elaborately decorated breastplates represented in art may have been 'parade' ARMOUR, worn for show rather than every

day or in battle. Very highly decorated breastplates are represented on statues of Roman emperors and generals (e.g. Prima Porta statue of Augustus, Vatican; Parthian returning Roman standards). Such decorations alluded to topical events and were politically loaded, but do not necessarily reproduce actual armour as worn: figures wearing breastplates with standardized designs (e.g. heraldic griffins) may be more accurate. The SAMNITE breastplate had a distinctive design – three discs joined together to form a triangle, two at the top, one below. The dorsal plate was similar, and both were held in place using rings joining the plates to straps at shoulders and sides. Such body-armour is known from a few surviving examples and representations in art: it perhaps developed from the single-disc ‘heart protector’ (*kardiophylax*, e.g. sixth-century BC statue, ‘Warrior from Capestrano’).

Gergel (1994: 191–212); Vermeule (1959: 1–82).

BREECHES As opposed to **TROUSERS**, close-fitting, knee-length, and held in place at the waist by rolling the top over a girdle. **SOLDIERS** and cavalrymen – including senior officers and the emperor – are shown wearing such breeches (presumably wool or leather) on Trajan’s column and in other imperial art. Not called *bracae* until the early third century AD: possibly previously called *feminalia*.

SHA Severus Alexander 40.

BRIDE, BRIDAL DRESS Brides wore distinctive costumes in Greece and Rome, although there were regional variations and changes over time in their exact nature (Fig. 50). Distinctive **BELTS** or girdles (*zōne*, *cingulum*) were symbolically untied by the groom as part of the ritual of transforming bride into wife. Wedding garments highlighted a bride’s transitory position, marked her out as ‘special’, and were of high quality. Thus, **HELEN** offers *Telemachos*

wellwoven textiles for use by his future bride – instructing him to hand them over to **PENELOPE** for safe keeping until then – while **Pandora**, the first woman, is arrayed in costly bridal gear.

Bridal dress was loaded with **COLOUR** and **SYMBOLISM**. In Classical Athens the bride was ritually dressed in elaborate wedding costume and **JEWELLERY** – with symbolic designs, such as pomegranate motifs – on the first morning of the wedding celebrations, then crowned with a *stephanē* or a chaplet of flowers. Over all went a special *krokos*-coloured **VEIL**: temporarily lifted during the ceremony of the *anakalypteria* and finally removed by the groom at the climax of the wedding festivities. The Roman bride wore the distinctive (archaic) **WHITE tunica recta** during the wedding and on the night before, along with a **YELLOW** hairnet (*reticulum luteum*). These were woven by the bride on an upright **LOOM** (Festus 286–9), the hairnet being dedicated to the *Lares* before the wedding. The tunic was belted by a **WOOLLEN** girdle, fastened with a special knot (*nodus Herculeus*), untied by her husband on the wedding night. The Roman bride also wore a large thin **MANTLE** over her head as a veil, the *flammeum*, which was *luteum* – variously described as the colour of Jupiter’s lightning, flame, egg-yolk, sunset and **SAFFRON**. This was otherwise worn by the **FLAMINICA DIALIS** and since she was not allowed to divorce, this symbolized good omens for the new marriage. The bride’s veil covered the complex and bulky hairstyle known as the *seni crines*. Although the precise form is unclear, it seems the hair was divided into six tresses (see *caelibaris*) which were braided, then wound around the head, and bound with woollen ribbons (*vittae*). This hairstyle (also worn by **VESTAL VIRGINS**, **SYMBOLIZING** chastity) was dressed with a crown (*corona*) of flowers and herbs and an *infula*. The bride may also have worn shoes (*socii*) of the same colour.

Odyssey 15.125–7; Hesiod, *Theogony* 573–80; Plutarch, *Moralia* 138D 2; Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 790–3; Llewellyn-Jones (2003: 219–48); La Follette (1994: 54–64).

BRIEFS This style of UNDERWEAR might be worn by women ATHLETES and acrobats in both Greek and Roman times (Fig. 34), and by Roman women when at the baths or exercising, see BIKINI. Martial refers to the *subligar* in these contexts, and two garments – made in one piece of LEATHER, tied at the sides – have survived in water-logged conditions in London. There is no evidence that women wore such briefs as underwear in the ancient world: mostly they wore nothing, sometimes perhaps a simple LOINCLOTH.

Martial, 11.99, 3.87, 7.67; Croom (2000: 93–4, pl. 17, 18).

BRIGHTNESS A shining appearance, whether in terms of COLOUR or surface reflection, was regarded as particularly attractive in Greek clothing, and is often attributed to the clothing worn and produced by gods and heroes in epic and tragedy. The quality of brightness is often privileged in description over the specific hue or surface that produced it, frustrating our efforts to understand its exact nature. However, the emphasis on vivid colours (e.g. *anthinos*, PURPLE, SAFFRON, SCARLET) and pure WHITES – whether combined in the same garment as pattern or BORDERS, or worn together – and close-woven textiles, suggests what is meant: all these qualities would provide shine, attracting the attention.

lampros; *Odyssey* 24.145; Duigan (2004: 78–84).

BRITAIN, ROMAN DRESS IN Tacitus claims that the *toga* was frequently seen in Britain in the Flavian period (c. AD 79). However, the main evidence for British clothing comes from representations on tombstones (mostly second and third centuries AD), which rarely show the *toga*. Rather it

seems that the standard dress for men and women consisted of TUNICS, GALLIC coats, CAPES and scarves. ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds of actual clothing include fragments of woollen cloth and girdles from Vindolanda. In the late empire tunics with long tight SLEEVES were worn, belted with an OVERFOLD, as seen in the painting of praying CHRISTIAN figures from the villa at Lullingstone, Kent.

Wild (1985: 362–422).

BROCADE This modern term is used for heavy fabric with an all-over raised design, frequently incorporating gold or silver METALLIC THREADS, usually reserved for elaborate ceremonial clothing, e.g. royal garments or church vestments. The effect can be produced by using supplementary WEFT techniques: adding an extra thread – often thicker – alongside the main weft. When bound in by the WARP, this is ‘inlay’, but supplementary wefts often float (unbound for several warp threads) or are weft-faced – placed to cover the warp entirely and create a block of COLOUR. In Greek and earlier Roman textiles, ‘brocading’ of this sort seems to have been used mostly as a way of creating localized patterns or complex BORDERS, probably in a variety of colours, rather than an all-over pattern.

BROOCHES, ROMAN In the Roman world, *fibulae* were widely worn by men and women to fasten clothing, especially CLOAKS and TUNICS – subject to localized fashions in the provinces, e.g. women in NORICUM traditionally wore brooches in matched pairs. At its simplest the *fibula* (‘bow brooch’) is more akin to a safety pin, but various more elaborate and decorative forms developed over time, such as ‘disc and plate’ brooches, penannular brooches and, in the later empire, the cross-bow brooch. This emerged in the third century AD, was at its height in the fourth, and was especially popular with SOLDIERS and high

STATUS civilians. Its large size, degree of elaboration, and specific design as a fastener for *heavy* cloaks, suggest that it was primarily a status symbol. Very elaborate brooches are also worn by PALMYRENE women in funerary portraits, and jewelled brooches with three pendants were adopted as imperial **INSIGNIA** in the late empire (Fig. 8).

Procopius, *On Buildings* 3.1, 21; Swift (2003: 14–23); Stout (1994: 77–100); **BUTTONS**, *chitōn*, *chlaina*, *emperonama*, *emporpaō*, *fibula*, *peronēma*.

BROWN Brown was probably a very common, and therefore unremarkable, colour for Greek and Roman dress, particularly for WOOLLEN outer garments and CLOAKS: colours in the brown range are a common product of natural **DYES**. Brown is not often remarked upon as a textile colour in literature (but appears quite frequently for garments on Attic white ground pottery) although clothing called **pullus** or **purpureus** would often be described as dark or purplish brown now.

bucinum (L) A kind of PURPLE DYE shellfish, named from its trumpet (*bucinum*) shape.

Pliny, *NH* 9.61.29–30.

BUCKLES Buckles were used primarily by Roman soldiers to fasten BELTS or ARMOUR – buckled rather than tied belts indicated the military man as opposed to the civilian. They could be highly decorated with cast zoomorphic shapes, the addition of niello, openwork designs, and, in the late empire, precious stones and other jewels.

Swift (2003: 41–7).

bullā (L) A round hollow locket of GOLD, silver, bronze or LEATHER containing an AMULET, worn around the neck of Roman CHILDREN as a protection with supposed APOTROPAIC qualities. The **bullā** appears to be ETRUSCAN in origin – early examples have been found in seventh- and

sixth-century BC tombs – where it was worn by adults. Roman tradition says that the **bullā** was first awarded to the son of an Etruscan king of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus, for his courage in battle, and was then worn by the sons of noble families, along with the **toga praetexta**. When a boy reached maturity and assumed the **toga virilis**, his **bullā** was dedicated to the Lares (household gods). Roman generals wore **bullae** during TRIUMPHS to denote their special status, and sacrificial animals could also be so adorned. Boys of elite STATUS wore **bullae** made of gold, the sons of EQUITES and freedmen **bullae** of other materials, but slaves did not: thus it was a sign of free birth. The equivalent for girls may have been a crescent moon necklace (**lunula**). The **bullā** seems to have been little used after the first century AD, although there are a few later representations.

Macrobius, 1.6.7–13; Pliny, *NH* 33.4.10; Plutarch, *Romulus* 20.3, 25.5.

BUSKINS See **BOOTS**, **STAGE COSTUMES**, **HUNTING DRESS** and **cothurni**, **endromides**, **kothornoi**.

BUTTONS First attested in the Greek world in the sixth century BC – in artistic sources from both Ionia and Attica – where they form part of the construction of the **chitōn** worn by **korai** figures: serving as ornamental DECORATIONS and practical alternatives to dangerous, cumbersome PINS or brooches along the shoulders and arms. No buttons have yet been discovered during ARCHAEOLOGICAL excavation in Greece, suggesting that they were made either from precious or semi-precious materials such as gold or bronze, which might have been reused, or of wood or horn, which has perished. Wooden buttons, gold-plated, were found in the fifth/fourth-century graves at Pazyryk (Barber 1991: 200) supporting the latter idea. Roman women are sometimes represented in sculpture wearing TUNICS

held on the shoulders and along the upper arms by a series of what look like modern buttons placed at equal intervals, but whether these were buttons in the modern sense – i.e. fastenings using a buttonhole or loop – rather than decorative additions where the two pieces of cloth were sewn together, is debated: they may be simply twists of cloth (Croom 2000: 76–8). Although this is also a possibility for the apparent buttons seen in Greek art, sewn SLEEVES were much less common in Greek dress (generally less structured than Roman): functional buttons would have allowed the garment to be dismantled into the standard fabric rectangle, for storage or other use. Given general attitudes to sewing in Greek dress – used for simple attachment or detailed EMBROIDERY –

attached loops may be more likely than full sewn buttonholes.

Elderkin (1928: 333–45); *cheiridōtos*.

byssinos, byssinus (G/L) Made of COTTON or very fine LINEN.

Herodotus, 2.86; Aeschylus, *Persians* 125; Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.15.

byssos, byssus (G/L) Very fine LINEN or COTTON (often EGYPTIAN), or SILK in LATE ANTIQUITY.

Theocritus, 2.73; Pausanias, 6.26.6; Martialis Capella, 2.114.

byssourgos (G) A WEAVER of byssos.

Tebtunis Papyri 5.239.

C

caelibaris (L) Spear used to divide a Roman BRIDE's hair into six tresses.

Arnobius, 2.67; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.560.

caesicius (L) A sky-BLUE colour.

linteolum, Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.230.

caestus (L) A BOXING GLOVE. Originally straps of LEATHER wound round the hands and lower arms, it seems later to have become longer, covering the whole arm but leaving the fingertips free.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.69, 379, 479.

calautica (L) A female HEADDRESS; perhaps a type of **mitra**.

Nonius, 861L.

calceamen; calciamentum (L) A calf-length BOOT; general term for SHOES.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 73.

calceus (L) ETRUSCAN and Roman closed SHOES or short BOOTS which reached just above the ankle (Fig. 4): worn by men, women and children of various ranks all over the Roman empire, as ARCHAEOLOGICAL sites (e.g. Vindolanda) show. Smaller versions made for women might be called **calceoli**, or **calcei muliebres**. **Calcei** – as opposed to SANDALS – were the correct formal FOOTWEAR for Roman men, worn

with the **toga** in public. Patricians and senators wore distinctive types (**calcei patricii** and **senatorii**) fastened by four straps (**corrigiae**): two on each side of the sole, cross-laced across the front – sometimes over a tongue – then wound round or just above the ankle, and tied in two knots at the front, sometimes with a moon-shaped toggle attached (**lunula**). They were distinguished by COLOUR and quality: in the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN (9.7–9) **calcei patricii** COST one and a half times **calcei senatorii**, which were twice the price of **EQUITES' calcei**. **Calcei repandi** were an early Etruscan form: RED or BLACK mid-calf



Figure 4 Detail of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on Campidoglio in Rome: **calceus**.

boots with complex lacing and distinctive upturned pointed toe – fashionable for men and women c. 550–475 BC – which continued to be worn as a DIVINE ATTRIBUTE by statues of *Juno Sospita*.

Aulus Gellius, 13.22.2–8; Cicero, *Philippic* 2.30.76, *Nature of the Gods* 1.29.82; Juvenal, 7.192; Bonfante (2003 [1975]: 60–2); Goldman (1994: 101–29).

caliga (L) Openwork SHOES (Fig. 5) worn by Roman soldiers in the first century AD: often called Roman army ‘boots’, they were more like sturdy SANDALS, being open at the toes, cf. *campagus*. The upper was a complex network of straps (*corrigiae*) cut from a single piece of LEATHER, fastened by laces tied at the ankle. The outer and inner soles were made of tough ox- or cow-hide with strategically placed HOBNAILS to inhibit wear. *Caligae* could be worn with socks or stuffed with wool or straw for warmth, were a practical design for marching, and gave their name to the emperor Caligula. The PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN (9.5) also details *caligae* without hobnails, made for civilian workmen (e.g. mule-drivers, farm workers) and *caligae muliebres*, for women (9.10).

Juvenal, 16.24; Suetonius, *Caligula* 52; Isidore, *Origins* 19.34.8; Goldman (1994: 101–29).

callainus (L) A GREEN-turquoise colour.

cucullus, Martial, 14.140[139].

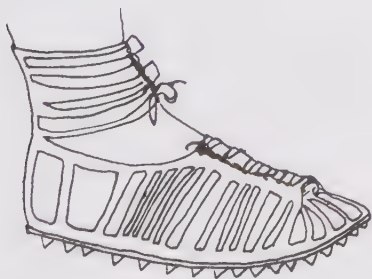


Figure 5 Reconstruction of a *caliga* – the usual type of SHOE worn by Roman SOLDIERS in the first century AD.

caltula (L) A short female UNDERGARMENT worn under the TUNIC.

Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.231; Nonius, 880L.

camisia (L) A late term for a female UNDERGARMENT or NIGHTWEAR.

Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.29; Festus, 311.

campagus, campagi (L) Late term for an enclosed SHOE worn by soldiers (*campagus militaris*), and Roman and Byzantine emperors.

Price Edict of Diocletian 9.11.

campestre (L) LOINCLOTH worn by male ATHLETES; ETRUSCAN and Roman equivalent of the *perizoma*.

Horace, *Epistles* 1.11.18; Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.5.

candidatus (L) Clothed in WHITE, demonstrating candidacy for office.

Plautus, *Rudens* 1.5.270, *Casina* 2.8.446.

candidus (L) A BRIGHT WHITE. The *toga candida* worn by a candidate for Roman magisterial office was a brighter white than the normal unbleached white wool of the *toga virilis*.

vestis, Livy, 9.40.9; HAIR, Virgil, *Eclogues* 1.28, cf. *albus*.

CAPES This English term, generally meaning a sleeveless garment, with or without a hood, covering the upper body, more fitted and shorter than a CLOAK, could describe various garments represented in Classical art (e.g. those of SAMNITE women in south Italian vase- and tomb-paintings, or men on tombstones in Roman Gaul). Such garments cannot all be definitively linked with a Latin name, see *bardocucullus*, *birrus*, *caracalla*, *cucullus*, *mafortium*, *paenula*. Cape-like garments were worn by SOLDIERS, male and female civilians, and especially rural labourers, often as protection against the weather: they seem therefore to have been

especially popular in the north-western Provinces (Fig. 9).

Juvenal, 5.79; Martial, 14.130.

capite velato (L) With veiled head. A Roman man would pull a fold of his *toga* over his head as a *VEIL* when *SACRIFICING* to the gods or as *RITUAL* dress: thus signifies piety in art (Fig. 45).

capitium (L) Possibly a hood (e.g. of *paenula*), the neck-hole of a *TUNIC*, or a garment worn round the chest, either for warmth or as a *BREASTBAND*.

Pliny, *NH* 24.88.138; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131; Aulus Gellius, 16.7.9.

caracalla (L) A *CAPE*, probably Gallic, which gave its name to the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus (AD 211–17) ('Caracalla').

carbasesus (L) Made of *COTTON*, cf. *byssus*.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.776.

carbasinus (L) *COTTON* clothing. *Carbasus lina* was a mixture of *LINEN* and cotton.

Pliny, *NH* 19.6.23.

CARBATINA, CARBATINAE Modern term for a type of *SHOE* – made from a single piece of *LEATHER* with holes punched along the edges, held together by twined thongs – but probably not so used in antiquity. Such shoes are known from the Greek world, but are especially common at various *ARCHAEOLOGICAL* sites on the northern frontiers of the Roman empire (e.g. Saalburg). They differ from *caligae* in having neither a separate sole and insole, nor hobnails, and appear to have been worn by civilians – including women and children – rather than *SOLDIERS*.

CARD, COMB, CARDING Teasing locks of raw *WOOL* to separate individual *FIBRES* takes two forms: combing parallel, to be *SPUN* into 'worsted' yarn – stronger but less flexible; or

carding with teasels, producing a fluffy clump, drawn out by hand to the desired thickness. (Only the latter is properly called 'woollen' but this is generally extended to anything made from *SHEEP's wool*.) Most *ARCHAEOLOGICAL* finds of early woollen textiles are made from combed worsted, perhaps because such yarn is more durable. However, the similarity of terms used for carding before spinning, and carding woven cloth – not two separate groups for combing and teasing – indicate that wool was teased as well as combed for spinning. *PLANT FIBRES* are always combed into alignment, never teased. Carding can be done with natural teasels, such as the thorny seed pods of some plants, or with a flat or rounded board with fine pins sticking out. Fabric may also be brushed with such teasels once woven, to *CLEAN*, or raise the *NAP* for warmth or *DECORATIVE* effect, see *MAINTENANCE, FULLING*. Hanks of carded but unspun wool were used as *FILLETS* in *RITUAL*.

agrenon, carpo, diaxainō, epinētron, knapheus, knaphos, lana carpta, pecten, pecto, tolupeuō, xanion, xantēs.

CARE OF CLOTHES Ancient clothes were expensive by modern standards and expected to last a long time. Storage was important: clothes might be kept in a clothes-press, and would be mended when they became worn – Pliny mentions Egyptian wool used for darning and revitalizing worn clothes, *NH* 8.73.191. Garments would also be patched: when too worn, they were cut up and re-used to make quilts and clothes for the poor and *SLAVES*.

centonarii, SECOND-HAND CLOTHES, MAINTENANCE.

caro (L) To *CARD*.

Plautus, *Menaechmi* 5.2.797.

carpo (L) Literally, to tear off, therefore, to pluck, *CARD*, or *SPIN WOOL*.

Virgil, *Georgics* 1.390; Horace, *Carmina* 3.27.64.

casula (L) A Gallic cloak with a hood, cf. **paenula**: Wilson suggests it was long, full, and completely closed down the front except for a little vent at the top, allowing it to be put on over the head (1938: 95–7). Isidore explains **casula** as the diminutive of *casa*, a little house, because the wearer was shut up within. **Casula** was also used, from the fifth century AD onwards, for a CHRISTIAN liturgical garment, the chasuble.

Origins 19.24.17.

cenatoria (L) A set of DINING CLOTHES worn by Roman men at the afternoon meal (*cena*), probably a matching TUNIC and some kind of mantle (**pallium**, **abolla** or **laena**): cf. **synthesis**. Such dining clothes might be BRIGHTLY coloured, although the Arval Brethren are said to have worn WHITE.

cento (L) Patchwork, see **centonarius**, SECOND-HAND CLOTHES.

Caesar, *Civil Wars* 3.44; Juvenal, 6.121; Cato, *On Agriculture* 59.

centonarius (L) A patchworker or patchwork dealer, who made and sold quilts, CLOAKS etc. from SECOND-HAND CLOTHES, especially used for SLAVES. **Centonarii** were important enough in Roman society to have their own *collegia* (trade guilds).

Petronius, 45; *Code of Theodosius* 16.10.20.4.

CENTURIONS Modern portrayals of Roman SOLDIERS show the dress of centurions as distinctive. However, ancient SOURCES for distinctive aspects of their dress – transverse HELMET crests, greaves – are rare. Modern references to red appear to be an extrapolation from the general association between RED garments and MILITARY DRESS – common in both Greek and Roman worlds – and perhaps more specifically from late Roman ideas about emperors' military COSTUMES.

Harlow (2005: 143–53).

cerasinus (L) A cherry RED colour.

petronius, **cingulum**, 28.8; **tunica**, 67.4.

CHARIOTEERS Greek charioteers wore a long TUNIC, held in place over the shoulders and upper body by narrow thongs (e.g., statue at Delphi). The head was uncovered and unprotected. Roman charioteers (*aurigae*) wore a more elaborate and distinctive costume: a short tunic (the COLOUR of their CIRCUS FACTION), with LEATHER straps (**fasciae**) wound round the upper body, interlaced to form a corset-like garment, holding a curved knife – used in an emergency to cut the reins wound round their bodies. The use of **fasciae** was of ETRUSCAN origin; e.g. charioteers in the paintings of the 'Tomb of the Olympic Games' at Tarquinia. Etruscan and Roman charioteers also often wore a **pilleus** HELMET and further **fasciae** (LEATHER or LINEN) on their legs. However, Myrtilus (Pelops' charioteer in the race against Oenomaus) is represented on Hellenistic Etruscan cinerary urns wearing long plaid TROUSERS.

Bonfante (2003: 40).

cheimastron (G) Winter clothing; thick WOOLLEN mantle.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 888.

cheiridōtos/chiridotus; chiridota tunica (G/L) A long-SLEEVED TUNIC or coat worn by Asiatic barbarians and Gallic tribesmen. From Greek *cheir* 'hand', also **tunica manicata**, from Latin *manus*, 'hand'.

Herodotus, 7.61; Strabo, 4.4.3; Aulus Gellius, 6.12.2.

cheiridōtos (G) SLEEVED. The **chitōn** commonly had loose sleeves, often short, and BUTTONED rather than SEWN. Other garments, like the **chitōniskos** or **ependytes**, might either have sleeves, or be completely sleeveless. However, long, fitted, sleeves are represented on POTTERY, usually

highly-decorated long chitons associated with the STAGE COSTUMES of ACTORS (Figs 1, 39). *Cheiridōtos* appears in the catalogues of DEDICATED clothing from BRAURON, describing *chitoniskoi* and EMBROIDERED garments (see *katastiktos*): it probably asserts longer sleeves than were common for the *chitōn*, perhaps resembling stage costumes.

IG II² 1523.23; Herodotus, 6.72; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.14; Strabo, 15.3.19; Miller (1997: 157–8).

cheiris (G) A GLOVE. Also the long, loose SLEEVES worn by PERSIANS and GAULS: sleeves of tragic STAGE COSTUME.

Odyssey 24.230; Herodotus, 6.72; Plutarch, *Otho* 6.3.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHES Greek and Roman children generally wore the same types of clothes as adults: various TUNICS and CLOAKS. Most evidence comes from representations on tombstones, although Greek references to children's garments occasionally use diminutive forms of basic garment types, see *chlaniskidion*, cf. *chitōniskos*. Belts seem to have formed part of INITIATIONS and the transition to adult garments, see *hamma parthenias*. The tunics of Roman children were usually worn BELTED – except for very small children – while provincial children also wore miniature versions of adult dress (e.g. Gallic coat). Roman boys, and to a lesser extent Roman girls, might also wear the *toga*. Free-born boys were entitled to wear a *bullā*, and *toga praetexta* over a tunic with two vertical reddish-purple stripes (*clavi*) until they reached manhood, when the *toga praetexta* was exchanged for the *toga virilis* and the *bullā* was dedicated to the Lares. The right to wear the APOTROPAIC *toga praetexta* seems originally to have been limited to boys from patrician families, but was extended to all free-born boys during the Second Punic War. The evidence for Roman girls is not as strong,

and how frequently girls wore *togas* in practice is debatable. Girls may also have worn a special type of sleeveless LINEN tunic, a *supparum*, as an undergarment. Their hair was dressed with woollen *vittae* and they did not VEIL.

Macrobius, 1.6.8–14; Propertius, 4.11.33; Festus, 311.

chitōn (G) Generic term for a Greek TUNIC – usually made from two large rectangles of light LINEN, sewn up both sides, fastened on the shoulders and arms with small BROOCHES and held in place by a BELT at the waist – the *chitōn* was a staple element of Greek male and female dress. Probably derived from Akkadian *kitinnu* (linen garment) it was also a non-specific word for clothing. Supposedly of Ionian origin, it is attested only as a male garment in the HOMERIC period, but is predominantly female in the Classical. In vase-paintings, the lightness of the female *chitōn* can be represented as diaphanous or semi-TRANSPARENT. The *chitōn* was also worn by ETRUSCAN men and women.

Odyssey 1.437; Herodotus, 1.8, 5.87; Bonfante (2003: 31–44).

chitōn amphimaschalos (G) A tunic woven to shape with two armholes, cf. *chitōn heteromaschalos*.

Aristophanes, *Knights* 882.

chitōn arraphos (G) A TUNIC without any SEAMS, woven to fit the body. Most famously worn by Jesus Christ and gambled for by Roman soldiers at the foot of the cross.

Gospel of St. John 19.23.

chitōn chortaios (G) A TUNIC of shaggy GOAT- or SHEEPSKIN; a STAGE COSTUME, especially of ACTORS playing Papa Silenus in Satyr drama.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7.72; Aelian, *Varia Historia* 3.40.

chitōn heteromaschalos (G) A TUNIC fastened on only one shoulder, worn by AMAZONS and SLAVES, cf. **exōmis**.

Pollux, 7.47.

chitōn orthostadios (G) A long TUNIC, left unbelted to hang in deep, straight FOLDS from shoulders to floor.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 45; Dio Cassius, 63.17.

chitōn pōdērēs (G) A long tunic, falling in folds over the feet, see Fig. 37, a mark of chic FEMININE elegance.

Euripides, *Bacchae* 833; Pausanias, 5.19.6. DORIC DRESS.

chitōn termioeis (G) A tunic with FRINGED hem or DECORATION.

Odyssey 19.242; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 537.

chitōnariion (G) Diminutive of **chitōn** cf. **chitōniskos**: probably a hitched-up **chitōn**, worn by women and ARTEMIS when hunting. The goddess sometimes takes **chitōnariion** as an epithet; cf. Artemis **chitonē**.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus* 77, *Hymn to Artemis* 225; Athenaeus, 14.629e.

chitōnion (G) Diminutive of **chitōn**: COSTLY, semi-TRANSPARENT female dress, very EROTIC and ALLURING.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 48, 150, *Wealth* 984; Cleland (2005b).

chitōniskos (G) Diminutive of **chitōn**. A shortened version, hitched-up, or knee-length or above, worn by young girls, female ATHLETES and AMAZONS – usually with one shoulder undone to expose a breast, **chitōn heteromaschalos**, **exōmis** – but also ETRUSCAN and Greek men. Possibly, at least at BRAURON, used similarly to **ependytes**, denoting a highly decorated, usually SLEEVE-less, over-garment.

Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.4.13; Aristophanes, *Birds* 946; Bonfante (2003: 35–6); Miller (1997); Cleland (2005b).

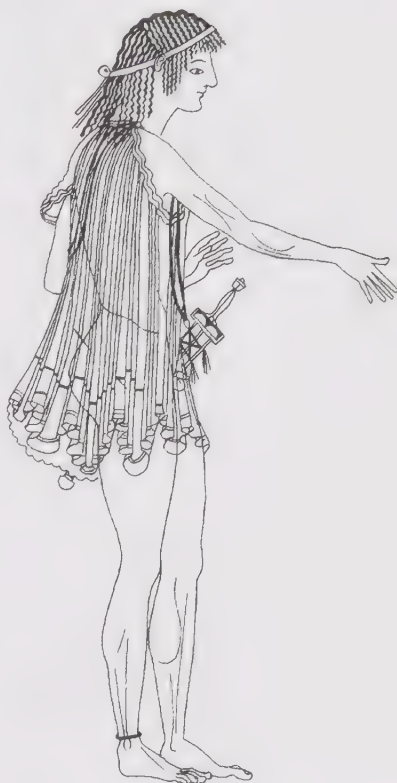


Figure 6 Theseus as ephebe: very fine unbelted TRANSPARENT pleated linen **chitōniskos** – sword hangs from shoulder-sash – hair set in long ringlets, with simple FILLET, barefoot but with anklet.

chlaina (G) A light CLOAK, a type of himation: worn draped around the shoulders and arms, or fastened on the right shoulder with a BROOCH from the HOMERIC period – only for men, as among the ETRUSCANS – into the Roman era, when it may have evolved into the **laena**. Its versatility is demonstrated by references to use as a blanket, shroud and RITUAL courtship canopy.

chlaina diplo/haplois (G) A **chlaina**, large and folded double/simple or inexpensive.

Iliad 24.230, **diplax**, **haplois**.

Iliad 16.224, *Odyssey* 14.529; Herodotus, 2.91; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 540; Scheid and Svenbro (1996).

chlainion (G) Diminutive of **chlaina**, probably a short or narrow *chlaina*.

Greek Anthology 12.40.

chlamydion (G) Diminutive of **chlamys**, probably referring to the short *chlamys* worn by ephebes.

Plutarch, *Romulus* 8.2; Diodorus Siculus, 19.9.

chlamydoeidēs (G) A **chlamys**-shaped MANTLE.

Strabo, 2.5.9.

chlamydourgos (G) A **chlamys** maker.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.7.6; Pollux, 7.159.

chlamys (G) A male garment worn throughout the Greek world – by horsemen, foot-soldiers, ephebes, heralds and travellers – originating in Thessaly; a short wool cloak often worn with a **petasos**, basically rectangular in shape, but curved at one edge. It is also attested as a royal mantle and part of tragic STAGE COSTUMES. The Greek *chlamys* was the predecessor of the Roman **paludamentum**.

Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.4.4; Tacitus, *Annals* 12.56 (worn by Agrippina).

chlanidion (G) Diminutive of **chlanis**: short, worn by Greek women.

Herodotus, 1.195.

chlanidopoios (G) A **chlanis** maker.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.7.6; Pollux, 7.159.

chlanis (G) A MANTLE worn by both sexes; a derivative of **chlamys**, made of finer wool and worn on festive occasions – sometimes as a WEDDING mantle. Its softness sometimes marked out its male wearers as EFFEMINATE, cf. **paludamentum**.

Herodotus, 3.139; Demosthenes, 35.45.

chlaniskidion, chlaniskion (G) Diminutives of **chlanis**, possibly short, narrow, or CHILDREN'S.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 519, *Peace* 1002; *IG* II² 1514.40.

chlidē (G) Fine clothing and other EFFEMINATE luxuries.

Euripides, *Ion* 26, *Helen* 424.

CHRISTIANS Artistic sources suggest that Christians did not wear radically distinctive clothing. Praying figures in wall paintings (e.g. Christian chapel at Lullingstone Villa, Kent) wear long-sleeved tunics, typical court costume of the fourth century AD. Tertullian, however, defines the **pallium** as the garment suitable for Christians. A gamma-shaped DECORATION, the *gammadia*, was used on the Apostles' mantles in art, and some JEWELLERY had Christian inscriptions and images of Christ. Several Church Fathers also expressed strong opinions on appropriate dress for Christians – especially women – starting with St Paul on VEILING. Medieval church vestments also developed from late Roman garments (e.g. **casula** to chasuble, **dalmatic**), and represent one of the main survivals of Greek and Roman dress forms into later periods.

De Pallio 6.2; Hartney (2002: 243–58).

chrysoeides (G) Golden in appearance.

COLOUR, Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.1.2; Theophrastus, *History of Plants* 6.3.5; HAIR, Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.771b.

chrysoparyphos (G) A garment with an attractive and expensive GOLD hem or BORDER.

Plutarch, *Demetrius* 41.

cilicium (L) A rough Roman CLOAK made from the coarse hair of Cilician GOATS.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 75.

cinctus (L) Girding up one's clothes at the waist. Different forms of pulling up and arranging were given different names: e.g. **cinctus Gabinus**, where an end of the **toga** was thrown over the shoulder, the excess knotted around the waist. Possibly Sabine in origin, this method of draping was originally used in battle, and later during religious **RITUALS** associated with war.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.612; Livy, 5.46.2, 10.7.3; Isidore, *Origins* 19.24.7; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.114.

cingulum (L) A BELT. A Roman **BRIDE** wore a special **cingulum** of twisted **WOOLLEN** fibres. **Cingulum militare** is used in later Latin for the sword belt or **balteus**.

Festus, 63; Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.492; Isidore, *Origins* 19.33.

circumsutus (L) SEWN together all around, from **suo**.

linamenta, Celsus, 8.5.

CIRCUS FACTIONS In the popular Roman sport of chariot racing, the teams and their supporters were designated by different **COLOURS**: **prasinus** (Greens), **russus** (Reds), **venetus** (Blues), and **albatus** (Whites). Competing charioteers and other team members wore appropriately coloured tunics when racing.

CLASSICAL GREEK DRESS Greek dress of this period is too complex and well attested in art and literature to reduce to a single entry, being defined more by the mixture or exclusion of dress styles, such as **HOMERIC**, **DORIC** or **IONIC** and even **PERSIAN** and **EGYPTIAN**. The nature of the sources means that most Greek terms refer to Classical dress: information is given under terms and thematic entries.

clavus, clavi (L) **PURPLE STRIPE** (purplish-red) woven into **TUNICS** worn by Roman men and boys: two ran vertically parallel, from

shoulder to hem, front and back. **RED** stripes on men's **WHITE** tunics are depicted in **ETRUSCAN** wall paintings from the fifth century BC, but without any apparent expression of status: Romans introduced the use of stripes as an overt indicator of rank. A broader stripe (**latus clavus**) was worn by **SENATORS**, and (from Augustus onwards) their adult sons. **EQUITES** were designated by a narrower stripe (**angustus clavus**). 'Putting on' the **latus clavus** meant 'becoming a senator' – someone removed from the Senate was 'deprived of his broad stripe' – in other words, the width of the stripes was an important **STATUS** symbol: Augustus' were said to be neither too broad nor narrow, i.e. carefully calculated expressions of status (Suetonius, *Augustus* 73). Wilson argues that boys' stripes were always narrower (1938: 59). However, distinctions may not always have been observed in practice – Roman wall-paintings, e.g. at Pompeii, show all types of men and boys wearing stripes of similar width – but there were later attempts to enforce or reintroduce the broad and narrow stripes to distinguish the senatorial and equestrian classes.

The word can also mean **HOBNAILS**.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 38.4, 94.10, *Claudius* 24.1, *Tiberius* 35.2; *SHA Alexander Severus* 27.4.

CLEANING, OF CLOTHES We now wash most clothes to remove **DIRT**, and washing scenes are a **topos** in ancient literature, often emphasizing and romanticizing the work of young women – contrasting the domestic nature of the maiden and household textiles with the natural surroundings of a river (most famously *Nausicaa*, *Odyssey* 6.50–100). Such scenes revolve around rivers, as other water supplies were often limited. The general distinction between **LINEN** under- or inner garments, and **WOOLLEN** outer garments, may relate to cleaning, as in the more comprehensive sources for the Middle Ages. Many woollen outer garments, made of remarkably large single pieces of fabric, were dry

cleaned by brushing or CARDING, and FULLING with natural chemicals. WHITE garments, particularly, required treatments to restore the purity of their COLOUR: without particularly effective soaps, such garments were often BLEACHED in the sun, and treated with fuller's earths.

MAINTENANCE, asbestinum, candido, criplytes, kimolia, knapheuō etc., phaidrunō, sordidus.

CLOAKS Most Greco-Roman dress was flexible: large pieces of cloth could be variously arranged to form different garments. Cloaks were made from uncut lengths of cloth (rectangular or with a curved edge) or from specifically shaped pieces of fabric, and might simply be wrapped or thrown round the body (*amictus/periblema*); put on over the head (*induo/endyna*); any length from hip to ankle; hooded; fastened with PINS, BROOCHES or ties. Cloaks were a staple of ancient Greek and Roman dress – as their large vocabulary demonstrates, although this is often impossible to link to various styles represented in art, sometimes decorated with FRINGES, TASSELS and various PATTERNS. Made in a variety of FABRICS – of differing thicknesses, qualities and COLOURS – they might be worn by SOLDIERS, travellers and labourers as protection against bad weather, or as fashion items by those of higher STATUS, cf. MANTLE, WRAP.

abolla, allix, amiculum, amphimallos, anaballesthai, bardocucullus, bigerrica, birrus, chlaina, chlamys, cilicium, dibolia, endromis, ependyma, ephamma, ephestris, epiblēma, epiporpēma, gausape, kasas, kaunakes, lacerna, laena, oiochitōn, palla, pallium, paludamentum, paenula, persis, phainolē, pharos, phoinikis, sagum, sisyra, toga, tribōn, THEFT.

CLOGS Shaped wooden soles held onto the foot by broad straps (*sculponeae*). Remains have been found in a late sixth-century BC Etruscan tomb at Bisenzio and preserved in waterlogged conditions at various Roman ARCHAEOLOGICAL sites (e.g. Saalburg, Vindolanda). This FOOTWEAR was used by COUNTRY labourers – especially SLAVES –

and the lower classes generally, but may also have been worn in BATHS.

Cato, *On Agriculture* 59; Goldman (1994: 111–4, Figs 6.2, 6.17); Croom (2000: 63, 118).

CLOTHES SHOPS Textiles and clothing were important objects of TRADE in the ancient world, and evidence suggests that all the components of dress could be bought, from at least the Classical Greek period onwards (Van Wees 2005: 44–54). However, there were no clothes shops as we now understand them: various merchants traded for and sold textiles and TEXTILE MANUFACTURING materials at all stages of completion and use. Textile FIBRES and DYES could be purchased for home use or for weaving and dyeing workshops. Woven and/or dyed textiles could be purchased finished, but there was often little to distinguish those purchased for clothing from those destined for other uses. The CONSTRUCTION of Greek and Roman dress meant that variations in size were more a matter of style and COST than fit, and MAINTENANCE meant clothes were more of a long-term investment than today's ephemeral purchases, see VALUE. Individuality was achieved more through DECORATION and DRAPING. Clothes shops as such – selling finished garments – were probably primarily used for clothing SLAVES and dependants, while the pampering role of clothes shopping today was played by DYEING and FULLING establishments.

centonarius, eriopōlē, himatiopōles, indusarius, knapheion, knapheutike, SECOND-HAND CLOTHES, vestiarius.

CLOTHING REGULATIONS These were rare compared to the extensive SUMPTUARY LAWS of the Middle Ages. However, the sparse examples are important SOURCES for the social and economic significance of ancient clothing. (Ancient literature often implies the importance of clothing in symbolizing or expressing social role, STATUS, or WEALTH, but the extent to which this is constructed within the text, rather than relating to

everyday life, is often questionable: taking literary references at face value is problematic.) The extant clothing regulations of the Greek world all come from religious contexts, although there are rare hints in literature of the imposition or prohibition of certain forms of dress to control social behaviour, see *peplos*, *anthinon*. Evidence suggests that clothing was a recognized social signifier in Greek culture, but not routinely controlled by the rather blunt instrument of the law. Everyday signification of clothing was heightened to *SYMBOLISM* in *RITUAL* contexts, see *TRAGEDY*.

Greek clothing regulations emphasize *WHITE*, flowery (*anthinon*), *PURPLE* and *BLACK* clothing: those prohibiting *FOOTWEAR* (*anupodēteō*, *hypoduma*), *COSMETICS* (*phykos*) and certain *SKINS* (*aigis*) are more clearly linked to ideas of ritual purity. Occasional mentions of dress in funerary laws (e.g. Solon at Athens, Mills 1984: 244–55) are more clearly related – as are *ROMAN LAWS* – to later sumptuary law. Roman law explicitly targets *LUXURY* in dress, much more specifically than Greek regulations: fitting in with the greater Roman emphasis on, and social valuation of, luxury in all forms of material culture, clear from *ARCHAEOLOGY*. In the later empire, luxury was also targeted through price fixing – the *PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN* is one of the best single sources for Roman dress.

diaphanē; Cleland (forthcoming a).

coactilia, *coactiliarii* (L) *FELT*, *FELT* makers.

Digest 34.2.26.

COAN SILK Aristotle says that Greek *SILK* manufacture started on Cos (*History of Animals* 5.9, whether wild or imported silk remains questionable) which later gained a reputation for producing a very *COSTLY* fine *FABRIC*, considered daringly – or indecently – thin: *TRANSPARENT* Coan silk made women appear ‘almost as if naked’.

Pliny, *NH* 11.26.76; Horace, *Satires* 1.2.101–4; Propertius, 1.2.2.

COATS This garment – *SEWN*, with long fitted sleeves – was not a typical feature of Greek and Roman dress – variants of the *CLOAK* were the primary outer garments. Rather, it was seen – like *TROUSERS* – to characterize the dress of foreigners – *PERSIAN* and *GALLIC* dress. This perspective was not without chauvinism: the aesthetic and behavioural skills necessary to maintain proper forms of *DRAPERY* in use were prized, and regarded as a hallmark of civilized life and culture.

coccinus, *coccineus* (L) *SCARLET*, deep *RED*, cf. *kokkinos*.

Martial, 2.39.1; *pallium*, Petronius, 32.2; *lacerna*, Martial, 14.131; (*coccinatus*, dressed in) Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.2.

COLOURS We often tacitly assume that most Greek and Roman clothing was *WHITE*, but white would have been achieved and *MAINTAINED* by processes at least as time-consuming and expensive as *DYEING* (see *CLEANING*). *PURPLE* was both the most *VALUABLE* and valued colour – the combination of the purple and white is familiar from the stereotypical *toga praetexta* of stage and screen. In fact, all the ‘pure’ colours – white, *BLACK*, purple, *RED*, etc. – had *SYMBOLIC* or *STATUS* significance in the ancient world. Most ordinary clothing – for everyday use, and/or of the poor – was of *DULL* or indeterminate colour, either the natural colours of textile *FIBRES*, or of low-quality, non-fast, *PLANT DYES*. *CLOTHING REGULATIONS* and *MOURNING* conventions imply that most Greeks possessed at least one white or notably light garment, and one black, or notably dark garment. The ‘fancy’ clothing of ordinary people was probably distinguished by *PATTERN* rather than hue – although a wider range of colours later became more widely available.

The Romans clearly *VALUED* brightly coloured clothing: *TUNICS* and *CLOAKS* were decorated with contrasting *STRIPES* or

BORDERS and worn with BELTS of various colours. Certain colours were especially highly prized, such as purple and SCARLET, but LITERARY sources record a wide range of colours and shades for both male and female garments. Exact hues are not always clear – most notoriously purple (*purpureus*) and the *luteus* of the Roman BRIDE's *flammeum* and SHOES. The popularity of colour is confirmed by representations of clothed figures in Etruscan tomb paintings, Roman wall-painting and mosaics and Egyptian mummy portraits, but it is important to remember that these colours may have been chosen because they were easily available in that artistic medium rather than for faithfully recording actual use. Colours were not universally APPROPRIATE: dark colours (*pullus*) were for mourning, bright white (*candidus*) for canvassing; ordinary soldiers probably wore off-white tunics and yellow-BROWN cloaks, but higher ranks may have worn RED, while the scarlet *paludamentum* was for generals; patricians wore a special sort of dark pinkish red shoe (*mulleus calceus*).

Where the colour of clothing is discussed in literature, it is by definition remarkable – although not necessarily unusual. Colour in ancient clothing is often described in very general terms, using words denoting PATTERN, or BRIGHTNESS, without hue (*anthēropoikilos*, *anthinos* etc., *baptos*, *poikilos*, *lampros*). Further, many garments were described purely by their colour, without reference to form: *batrachis*, *flammeum*, *halourgēma* and *krokōtos*. Other Greek garments were persistently associated with a particular colour (*baukides*, *ependytēs*, *himation nymphikon* etc.). In Latin, symbolically coloured garments are generally described using both colour and type terms: *luteum soccum*, *toga pulla*, *toga pura*, *toga purpurea*, *tunica pulla*. Colour and VALUE were linked in ancient textiles – high quality dyes would only be applied to good FABRICS – but neither the physical colours

of cloth (see *ekplytos*, DYEING, MAINTENANCE) nor the terms used to describe them, were as fixed as now. Nevertheless, the language of textile colour was often very specific. For instance, *melas* (black) referred to any dark colour, and ancient purple extended from warm blues to cold reds, yet *krokos* referred only to SAFFRON-dyed clothing, not to YELLOW.

Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.169–88; Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.229–35; *amethystinatus*, *anthokrokos*, *anthracinus*, *argenteus*, *auratus*, *aureus*, *candida*, *glaukeious*, *himation*, *holoporphyrus*, *hyacinthus*, *iobaphēs*, *korē*, *krapedon*, *legnon*, *leukos*, *luteus*, *melas*, *mēlinos*, *omphakinon*, *ostrinus*, *praetexta*, *pullus*, *phoenicus*, *purpureus*, *ricinium*, *sandarakinus*, *soccus*, *thalassinus*, *venetus*.

COLOURS, SYMBOLISM OF The many terms listed under COLOUR indicate the complexity of this subject. However, the range of overtly symbolic colours – although any colour impacted on the VALUE of a textile – is much smaller. WHITE symbolized – and demonstrated, see CLEANING, FULLING – purity in both Greek and Roman culture. This was particularly important in RITUAL dress, and by opposition in MOURNING. Clothing in TRAGEDY makes clear oppositions between the white garments appropriate for participants in positive rituals – such as supplication, or WEDDINGS – and the BLACK garments of mourning. RED was probably a relatively common and desirable colour in clothing, but associated in symbolic terms mainly with blood and MILITARY DRESS. Wedding garments may have been red, as in many cultures, but evidence exists that the symbolic importance of redness in this context was expressed by the very highly prized, warm, rich, colour of SAFFRON. Of course, the most famous symbolic colour of antiquity was PURPLE, which expressed royalty, status, wealth and luxury. In general, Roman dress shows a clearer and more developed – or at least more overt – system of colour symbolism than Greek – which is heavily associated with particular garments, see *toga pura*, *tunica pulla*,

flammeum, etc. However, there is evidence to suggest that PATTERN decoration – in itself, rather than particular colours alone – carried similar visible distinctions of STATUS in Greek dress. Certainly, decoration is emphasized in literary and artistic SOURCES for Greek clothing.

Duigan (2004: 78–84); Cleland (2003; 2004; forthcoming b); Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

colus (L) A DISTAFF, cf. *elakate*, an attribute of the FATES; also thread spun on a distaff.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.229, *Amores* 2.6.46; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.409; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 668.

conchyliatus (L) Clothing dyed PURPLE (from *conchylium*, MUREX), possibly the pale end of the spectrum: violet or lavender.

Cicero, *Phillipic* 2.27.67.

CONSTRUCTION, OF CLOTHING Greek and Roman clothing was generally DRAPED not tailored, although Roman garments in particular were routinely SEWN (e.g. *tunica*, *stola*). Outfits were usually composed of outer and inner garments: a CLOAK, usually WOOLLEN, over a TUNIC, typically LINEN.

UNDERGARMENTS were optional, a distinction between the upper and lower body was not often emphasized and, until the later Roman periods, relatively few garments were integrally SLEEVED. Roman garments were generally more distinct from one another in shape than Greek – most of which were distinguished by the size, FABRIC, and manner of draping and FASTENING, of single unstructured, rectangular (cf. *kyklos*) pieces of fabric. Tunics – especially Roman – were sewn into tubes, woven in T-shapes or – particularly Greek – simply rectangles affixed at the shoulder and arms with PINS or BUTTONS. Their shape, FOLDS and fit were universally created and altered by BELTING, either at the waist, chest, or with crossed straps across the breast – characteristic of girls and young women. (Fig. 40) Further differences were introduced by the number of tunics worn simultaneously, by their length and by folding over the top – OVERFOLDS could be further belted and flounced. Outer garments also came in a variety of shapes and lengths and, although they too might be fixed with BROOCHES for travel – or other activities which required free use of the arms – much was made of the maintenance of proper forms of draping through posture, especially for the toga.

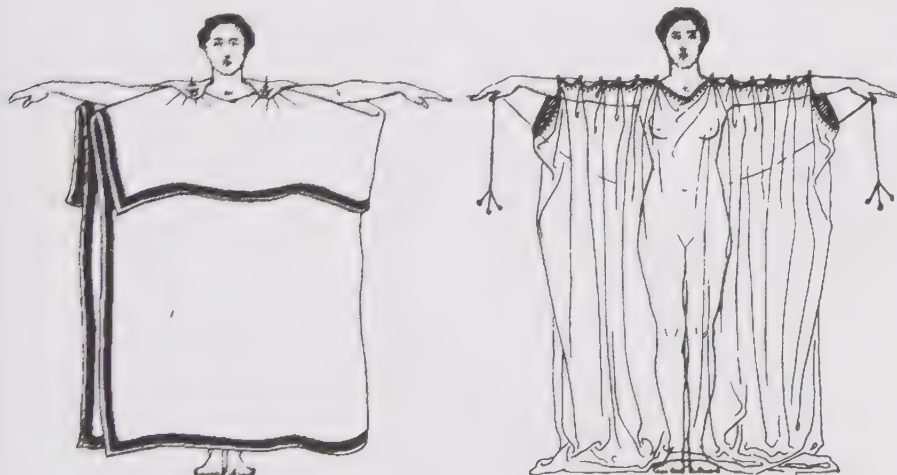


Figure 7 Construction diagrams for peplos and chiton.

Gender distinction in the form of garments was minimal, but outer garments were particularly associated with MASCULINITY, inner garments with FEMININITY, in an extension of the gender divide between public and private life. STATUS was denoted not only by the quality of fabric, but also by the size of the garment, expressing not only economic redundancy, but also 'breeding' – in the expertise required to arrange and manipulate more complex folds in use.

Van Wees (2005: 44–54); cf. Marcar (2005: 30–43).

contabulata (L) With complex FOLDS, cf. *stolidoma*.

palla of ISIS, Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11.3.

contexo (L) To WEAVE, or generally connect and, metaphorically, devise.

Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 2.63.158; Lucretius, 3.695.

CONTRACTS FOR CLOTHING Livy records a major second-century BC clothing contract to supply the Roman army with 6,000 togas and 30,000 TUNICS (44.16.4): smaller contracts for the supply of clothing to soldiers are recorded in various documents of the imperial period.

corium; coriarius (L) SKIN or LEATHER; A TANNER.

Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 2.47.121; Pliny, *NH* 24.54.91, 17.6.51.

corolla (L) A BRIDAL WREATH of herbs and flowers, including verbenna or marjoram picked by the bride and worn under her VEIL; also *corona*.

Festus, 63; Catullus, 61.6–7.

corona (L) A CROWN or WREATH of flowers worn at Roman banquets, special events and weddings (Fig. 27). The *corona civica* was a wreath of oak leaves, awarded

as one of the highest honours for saving a citizen's life in battle; the *corona muralis*, a golden diadem in the shape of a city wall, was given to the first SOLDIER who scaled the wall of an enemy camp. A Roman SLAVE wore a simple *corona* when put up for auction.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.684; Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.582.

corrigia, corrigiae (L) Straps, thongs or laces to fasten SHOES, e.g. ETRUSCAN *calcei repandi*. Patrician *calcei* had two on each side, wrapped round the ankle and tied in two knots at the front of the leg (Fig. 4).

Isidore, *Origins* 19.34.13.

COSMETICS See MAKE-UP, *kosmos*, PERFUME, *phykos*, *psimythion*.

COST OF CLOTHING The cost of clothing in the ancient world is rarely easy to determine (see CONTRACTS, EPIGRAPHY, PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN), but was better established in the Roman period – ANDANIA places an emphasis on monetary definition not found in earlier counterparts – due to the increasing organization of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE. Cost and VALUE should not be confused: the practical cost of clothing was heavily bound up with its raw materials and methods of manufacture and, where home produced, might be financially minimal, but the social and economic value of a finished garment or textile was more complex. Although many LUXURY materials obviously cost more, ancient textile manufacture was a highly 'value adding' process, and the social value of garments was not necessarily based solely on economic worth. In most contexts, home production of clothing for personal use and production for SALE existed in parallel: bought clothes might indicate access to ready cash and TRADE, home-produced garments showed access to labour and skill.

attalicus, BRIDES, *calcei patricii*, *chitonion*, DECORATION, HOMERIC DRESS, *krokos*, LAWS, PEARLS, PRICES, PURPLE, STATUS, TUNICS.

COSTUME Early studies of Greek and Roman dress often concentrated on costume, that is, on the clothing of particular types of figure in artistic representations, or specific types of outfit, particularly **STAGE COSTUMES** and **DIVINE ATTRIBUTES**, but also the dress of social types, e.g. **PHILOSOPHERS** and **PROSTITUTES**. In part, the aim was to better classify figures in art, while studies of stage costume aimed at better reproductions of ancient theatre. More recently, advances in the wider fields of anthropology and dress and gender studies have emphasized the personal and social aspects of dress, encouraging studies of ancient everyday dress as a social phenomenon, in addition to the aesthetic and performative aspects of costume. Although costume and everyday dress differ, they are also interdependent: perhaps the proper distinction is between clothes deliberately worn – or depicted – to express a particular point, and those worn or depicted as a matter of course. Certain types of dress had conscious and described associations, not only with prostitutes and philosophers, but with a wide variety of social roles: in choosing – or being required, see **CLOTHING REGULATIONS** – to wear characteristic dress people were, to an extent, wearing costumes on the social ‘stage’. Costume can also, simply, mean dress **APPROPRIATE** to a special context – primarily **RITUAL** – or ‘dressing for effect’, see **STATUS**. These aspects are discussed under their own headings, partly because Greek terms for outfits, even military dress, tend to overlap with generic terms for garments, see **skeyē** cf. **synthesis**.

cothurni (L) High **BOOTS** or **BUSKINS** with a three- to five-inch platform sole: characteristically worn by tragic **ACTORS** in Roman theatre, cf. **soccus**, **kothornos**, or for **HUNTING**.

Suetonius, *Caligula* 52; Horace, *Satires* 1.5.64; Juvenal, 15.29.

COTTON With **SILK**, the two **FIBRES** in the textile portfolio introduced to the ancient Mediterranean in this period through **TRADE**: both were certainly in common use during later Roman periods. A fragment of cotton has been found in a fifth-century BC context in Attica (Trakhones, Barber 1991: 18; Zisis 1955: 590–2). Indian cotton may have become more common in the Mediterranean world after the conquests of Alexander: it later became a common cultigen in the Eastern Mediterranean (Shamir 2004): probably known to the Romans by the beginning of the second century BC, widespread by the end of the Republic. Cotton had several primary advantages over **FLAX** in **TEXTILE MANUFACTURE**: it did not require **RETTING**, and is naturally **WHITER** and more amenable to **DYES** – perhaps explaining the greater ubiquity of **BRIGHTLY** coloured garments in the Roman imperial period, when cotton was relatively common. Cotton was also combined with other materials – linen and wool – to produce cloth of mixed fibres. Terms for cotton reveal its conceptualization: **WOOL** references predominate – **erioxulon**, **gnaphallion**, since its natural state resembles tufts of soft wool: the Greeks were familiar with various wild forms of cotton, whose shorter fibres produce thread suitable for **EMBROIDERY**, but not **WEAVING** – but it also overlaps with flax, linen, and silk (perhaps also thought of as a **PLANT FIBRE**).

Herodotus, 3.106; Strabo, 15.1.20; **byssos**, **carbasus**.

COUNTRY DRESS Even rich and famous Romans were expected to dress down when in the country: outside Rome the **toga** was generally not worn, **TUNIC** and **CAPE** were sufficient. This was also the normal wear for farmers and farm labourers needing good protection from the elements: the anonymous *Country Salad* suggests a shaggy **GOATSKIN** might also be appropriate. When the weather was too inclement

to work outside, labourers might mend their tunics and hoods (*cucullus*). For heavy work, like ploughing, even the tunic would be laid aside: when Cincinnatus was summoned from the fields to become a consul he wore only a LOINCLOTH and cap.

Juvenal, 3.168–79; Cato, *On Agriculture* 59.

COURTESANS See PROSTITUTES.

crepidae (L) Thick-soled Greek SANDALS (*krēpida*) popular among FASHION-conscious Romans, but regarded by traditionalists as un-Roman affectations. Scipio Africanus was said to wear the *pallium* and *crepidae* instead of the *toga* and *calcei*. Various figures in art – real and mythological, male and female, e.g. Etruscan tomb-, Pompeian wall-paintings – also wear them. Their uppers were a complicated network of LEATHER straps and cut out patterns, held together over the front of the foot by ties. They might cover the toes and the foot up to the ankle: more substantial than *soleae* but not as enclosed as *calcei*. Also *crepidulae*, diminutive, possibly a more flimsy version, worn inside.

Livy, 29.19.12; Isidore, *Origins* 19.34.3; Goldman (1994: 101–29); Aulus Gellius, 13.22.2–8.

croceus, crocotulus (L) SAFFRON, yellow-RED, *krokos*.

Pliny, *NH* 21.17.31–4; Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.775.

CROCUS A WHITE, YELLOW or PURPLE flower widely cultivated in antiquity: the red stamens are used for making SAFFRON, a spice and DYE.

krokos; *croceus*; Dalby (2000).

CROSS-DRESSING The nature of Greek and Roman clothing means GENDER DISTINCTIONS in dress are often blurred, their nuances difficult for us to understand. For instance, a group of bearded men on a series of late Archaic pottery ('Anakreontic vases') were once regarded as cross-dressers

for their voluminous flowing garments: in fact, these are more probably early examples of luxurious IONIAN DRESS, indicating wealth and leisure – some are depicted with PARASOLS – not TRANSVESTITISM. Nonetheless, a concept of purposeful cross-dressing obviously existed in antiquity. Men wearing female garments, or adopting other female attributes, are criticized or derided: ancient Hebrew law condemns men wearing female garments, though formal restrictions are less apparent in the classical sources.

A hallmark of Greek cross-dressing is use of colour. *Krokos* was regarded as a FEMININE colour: for a man to wear it opened him to comment. So Aristophanes depicts the poet Agathon wearing all the correct feminine accoutrements, including a *krokos* gown; Dionysus wears the lion-SKIN of HERAKLES over one as he descends into Hades; Heracles drags up in the robes of queen Omphale in her Lydian palace. In imitation of such tropes, Mark Antony and Cleopatra exchanged dress and ARMOUR during their Alexandrian revels. Female-to-male transvestism is less commonly reported, but MYTHOLOGICAL females, such as Omphale, do don masculine garb. While transvestism was commonplace in the theatre, memorably mocked and problematized by Aristophanes in the *Women at the Thesmophoria*, *Assembly-women*, etc., relative lack of gender distinction led to a broad spectrum of types of cross-dressing, from full impersonation (generally female) to simple or subtle assumption of items or GESTURES associated with FEMININITY or, rarely, MASCULINITY. Cross-dressing is often associated with ritual contexts or figures, and may have formed part of some specific RITUALS – outside the theatre.

P. Clodius, the most famous Roman cross-dresser, impersonated a woman to gain entrance to the women-only rites of Bona Dea: his alleged purpose being to commit adultery with Julius Caesar's wife. Cicero plays up the ridiculousness of this rather than questioning Clodius'

masculinity, but, in *Clodius*, he does use the incident to suggest unmanliness (15.21–4 cf. *Soothsayers* 21.44). Romans generally believed that crossing the well-defined boundaries between male and female dress was contrary to nature: thus Caligula's tendency to dress in inappropriate clothes, including women's dress, indicates his unstable character. On occasion empresses might adopt some aspects of male dress – Caligula's wife Caesonia was presented to the army wearing a CLOAK, shield and HELMET, and Theodora's costume in the mosaics at Ravenna is based on military dress – but no empress appears to have adopted full male dress. Rather, cross-dressing was associated with foreign ritual practices, such as the PRIEST of Heracles on Kos sacrificing, or Germanic Nahanarvali priests carrying out rites, in women's dress.

Deuteronomy 22:5; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 138, 253; *Frogs* 46; Ovid, *Fasti*

2.303–58; Seneca, *Epistles* 122.7; Suetonius, *Caligula* 52, 25.3; Tacitus, *Germania* 43.

CROWNS Reserved primarily for 'Oriental' monarchs in Greek culture (Fig. 36 cf. 28, 39). However, Greek rulers of the HELLENISTIC kingdoms frequently wore **diadems** as **INSIGNIA**, and Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt were often depicted in re-worked 'versions' of traditional pharaonic crowns (Fig. 13). Although the word is often used as a translation for Latin *corona* it is difficult to pinpoint when this honorific **HEADADDRESS** becomes a 'crown' in the English sense: a specific form which designates a monarch. From the earliest Greek and Roman times, **WREATHS** made of leaves and other vegetation were worn for both **RITUAL** and secular events: the right to wear them on specific occasions was also granted as an honour in Roman society, and such honorific 'crowns' might be of more permanent materials. The *corona civica* of oak leaves was awarded to



Figure 8 Justinian and Theodora, each with a member of their entourage: mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna, AD 546–8. Both emperor and empress wear deep PURPLE cloaks, jewelled CROWNS with PENDILIA and other conspicuous JEWELLERY; both of the men have CLOAKS decorated with a **tablion** – the emperor's in a GOLD and multicoloured PATTERN, his attendant's plain purple on a WHITE cloak; the female attendant's **palla** and the BANDS down her skirt are also patterned, and Theodora has a FIGURED border on her cloak.

SOLDIERS, the laurel **corona triumphalis** was worn by victorious generals at TRIUMPHS. Julius Caesar was awarded a laurel wreath by the Senate and granted the privilege of wearing it on all occasions, as was Octavian at all festivals in 29 BC. Other forms were awarded to soldiers who scaled the enemy's walls (**corona muralis**): Agrippa is shown on a coin wearing this headdress which imitates walls with crenellations. The **corona navalis** appears to have been decorated with the prows of ships: Claudius was awarded this for his victories in Britain. For emperors, such 'crowns' were presumably made of materials such as GOLD, and could also be jewelled. Honorific 'crowns' might also be offered to the emperor by conquered rulers and communities as signs of loyalty, but in the early empire such **coronae** were not seen as symbols of kingship: the Hellenistic diadem was avoided because of this. Headgear which looks more like the modern crown was worn by some PRIESTS: large circlets decorated with images of deities. Early emperors were occasionally represented with radiate crowns, symbols of the sun god: circlets with rays emerging to form a halo. This became a more common imperial attribute in the third century AD, at least in coin portraits of emperors – it is not certain how frequently it was worn in reality. In the late antique period, diadems and wreaths evolve into headgear more closely resembling a modern crown in form and meaning: made of gold and encrusted with jewels and pendants (Fig. 8).

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.2, *Claudius* 17.3; Kent (1978: pl 39, 137); James and Tougher (2005: 154–61); Stout (1994: 80–5).

cucullus, cucullunuculum (L) A hooded CAPE of GALLIC origin, perhaps SEWN together at the front (like the **paenula**), or left open and fastened by BROOCHES or ties (Fig. 9). It was presumably made of thick, hard-wearing FABRIC or LEATHER. Etymology emphasizes the hood, but it seems to have been a short cape that covered at least the shoulders, and

could reach to the waist. It might be worn in combination with various other garments: Martial's epigram speaks of a **cucullus** whose GREEN colour bled onto a WHITE **lacerna** (in the rain, 14.140[139]). Representations in Roman and Gallo-Roman mid-imperial sculpture show COUNTRY workers – shepherds and HUNTERS – wearing a hooded cape of this kind.

Wilson (1938, 92–5); Columella, 1.8.9; Martial, 5.14.6; Juvenal, 3.170, 6.118, 8.145.

CUIRASS Body ARMOUR for the torso – front BREASTPLATE, back dorsal-plate, hinged and fastened at the sides, often shaped to represent exaggerated musculature, and made of LEATHER or other materials – originating in the HELLENISTIC Greek world but most visible on statues of Roman generals and emperors in elaborate MILITARY parade



Figure 9 Statuette in Trier of a ploughman wearing a hooded CAPE (**cucullus**) over TUNIC and LEGGINGS.

dress. These often show the front decorated with symbolic and topical designs in relief (e.g. statue of Augustus from Prima Porta in the Vatican Museums; torso of Hadrian found in the Athenian Agora): it is not known whether such designs may ever have existed on the actual armour worn by these emperors, or were artistic invention for their statues. The lower edge of the cuirass often has a row of tongue-shaped flaps (*pteryges/pteruges*).

Gergel (1994: 191–212).

crumina (L) A pouch purse, often worn round the neck.

Plautus, *Comedy of Asses* 3.3.657–63.

cultus (L) Care for appearance, personal adornment, or style. Maecenas wrote a treatise called *De Culto Suo*, which is, unfortunately, lost: cf. **kosmos**.

cumatilis, cumatile (L) A sea-BLUE colour.

Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.233; Nonius, 879L.

cyclas (L) A circular woman's mantle, sometimes of very light fabric, with a decorated BORDER cf. **kyklas**.

Juvenal, 6.259; **chrysoparhyphos**, Propertius, 4.7.40

D

daktylios (G) RING, or signet.

Sappho, 35; Herodotus, 2.38.

dalmatic, dalmaticus (L) A T-shaped TUNIC with wrist-length tight SLEEVES cut separately from the main part of the tunic and SEWN on, popular in the later Roman empire, especially the third and fourth centuries AD. Originating in the Illyrian provinces or further east, it was worn by men and women: men's versions could have coloured and patterned BANDS and roundels – particularly on the shoulders; women's – seen on many female figures in catacomb paintings – were longer (just above the ankles), worn UNBELTED and often had contrasting STRIPES and BORDERS.

Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.9.

DECORATION Greek and Roman clothing used various forms, from PATTERNED TEXTILES (COLOUR or texture), DYEING and different finishes imparted during FULLING, specific arrangements of folds (**isoptyches**, **toga**), to APPLIQUÉD woven, beaded, or metal decorations (e.g. **pasmatia**). TEXTILE MANUFACTURE and MAINTENANCE meant that elaborate decoration was itself a form of LUXURY, whatever the cost of the materials used.

DEDICATIONS Offering gifts to the gods in their temples – in hope of, or thanks for,

their protection – was central to Greek and Roman religion. Such dedications took innumerable forms – from the simplest gifts of food or incense, to elaborate and costly statues – clothing being just one. Garments might be offered for statues of deities, especially goddesses – most famously the Panathenaic **peplos**. Offerings of personal garments seem most often to have been directed towards ARTEMIS, and catalogues of these dedications are known from BRAURON and Miletus (Cleland 2005; Gunther 1988: 215–37). Garments were also held in other TEMPLE TREASURIES, while dedication of prohibited garments forms part of some CLOTHING REGULATIONS. This role of garments emphasizes the importance of clothing as wealth in the ancient world: garments were not, as today, ephemeral items, but VALUABLE investments of the time and resources involved in TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

Linders (1972); Cleland (2005b); **amorginon**, **kandys**, **krokos**, **stuppinos**, **thermastis**.

deduco (L) To draw or SPIN out thread, prepare a web, or WEAVE.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.69, 4.36, *Amores* 1.14.7; Catullus, 64.312.

DEMONS Female demons represented in ETRUSCAN funerary art – tomb-paintings, cinerary urns, mostly HELLENISTIC – wear

costume appropriate for violent action, like Furies on south Italian vases, or AMAZONS. A thigh-length skirt with **embades** leaves the torso bare: two diagonal straps slung loosely across it are fastened with a **BROOCH**.

derma, **dermatinos**; **dermatourgikos** (G) Animal SKIN, FUR or LEATHER; TANNING, and its materials.

Iliad 9.548, *Odyssey* 4.782; Herodotus, 7.79; Plato, *Statesman* 280c.

dermatochitōn (G) A LEATHER jerkin or TUNIC.

Scholiast on Lycophron, 634.

dermatophoreō (G) To wear animal SKINS or FUR.

Strabo, 16.4.17.

desma komas (G) A female HAIR-band or FILLET.

Iliad 468; *Greek Anthology* 200.3.

diabathron, **diabathrarii** (G/L) A slipper or SHOE.

Herodotus, 7.61; Plautus, *Aulularia* 3.5.513.

diadēma, **diadema**, **DIADEM** (G/L) A band or FILLET of cloth or metal, encircling the head and tied at the nape. The Greek **diadēma** was worn by both gods and goddesses. A simple **diadēma** of BLUE and WHITE LINEN encircled the **tiara** of the king of PERSIA, and was worn without the **tiara** by Alexander the Great: it symbolized absolute monarchy – Hellenistic monarchs usually wore a 'simple diadem of white linen. It was therefore generally rejected by Roman emperors (most famously, Julius Caesar at the Lupercalia in 44 BC) since acceptance of the diadem suggested unacceptable ambitions. Roman society did, however, allow emperors various forms of **corona**, particularly **WREATHS**, and

empresses might wear a headdress (**stephane**) that we would call a diadem. Constantine the Great was the first emperor to wear the diadem – often decorated with a large central gem and other jewels – in official contexts: by the fifth century AD it had evolved into an elaborate and highly decorated headdress with further jewels suspended from the sides (**PENDILIA**). The preserve of emperors and empresses, this was a far cry from the original simple white band.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.13; Diodorus Siculus, 20.54; Livy, 24.5.3; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 79.1, *Caligula* 22.1, *Titus* 5.3; Varner (1995: 194–5).

dianthizō (G) To adorn with flowers or jewels, be DECORATED, **anthizō**.

Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 9.

diaphanē (G) A TRANSPARENT garment, especially a woman's **chitōn**, suggesting a fine and expensive cloth.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 48.

diaxainō (G) To CARD or shred, cf. **xainō**.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 578.

diazōma, **diazōnē** (G) A BAND; usually a waist SASH, sometimes a LOINCLOTH (**zōma**, **zōnē**).

Thucydides, 1.6.

dibaphos/us (G/L) Twice-DYED, usually of purple cloth, so also a synonym for PURPLE.

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 2.9.2, to *Friends* 2.16.17; Pliny, *NH* 9.63.137.

dibolia (G) A CLOAK worn folded in two.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.754.

diēnthismenos (G) From **dianthizō**, so DECORATED with floral designs.

Pausanias, 6.19.12.

DINING CLOTHES In early imperial Rome high-STATUS men and women possessed colourful suits of clothes (*cenatoria*, *synthesis*) that were more informal and comfortable than the clothes worn in public or for formal business. Particularly associated with social dining and Saturnalia, these probably consisted of a TUNIC and MANTLE in coordinated and varied COLOURS. SANDALS would be removed while dining, and to ask for them back was a signal that one was about to leave. Martial ridicules Zoilus for showing off how many changes of dining clothes he had by changing 11 times in the course of one meal.

2.46, 5.79.

diphthera (G) LEATHER; especially leather jerkins, CUIRASSES or BAGS.

Herodotus, 1.194; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 72; Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.9.2; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.2.12.

diplox; diplois (G) A HOMERIC term for a large, expensive, CLOAK worn folded double, cf. *chlaina*; latter similar, sometimes identified as the dress of Cynic PHILOSOPHERS.

Iliad 3.126, *Odyssey* 19.241; *Greek Anthology* 7.65.

diploos, diplous (G) General term for garments folded double; sometimes used specifically for TRAGIC costume, alluding to the large amount of material used in sumptuous STAGE COSTUMES, cf. *haplous*. At BRAURON most commonly used of the *chitōnion* and *krokōtos*.

Iliad 10.134, *Odyssey* 19.226; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 39; *IG* II² 1514.64, etc.

dipterygon (G) Literally, 'with two wings', so a CLOAK with two fluttery corners (*ptera Thettalika* were the 'fluttering corners of a *chlamys*' Pollux, 7.46).

IG II² 1514.38, 1524B.214.

diptychos (G) FOLDED double.

Odyssey 13.224; Herodotus, 7.39.

DIRT, ON CLOTHES Dirt was not just a matter of CLEANING or MAINTENANCE: it might also signify MOURNING. Soiled clothing was the literal antithesis of the RITUAL purity associated with clean WHITE dress and was therefore used to express a spiritually polluted state (*sordidus*). However, dirty clothing was also practically associated with poverty, perhaps explaining the emphasis on BRIGHT shining clothing as an expression of STATUS.

DISTAFF Long rods (or cleft sticks) to which clumps of unspun FIBRES were attached, with two primary functions: to stretch long FLAX fibres taut while SPINNING – providing extra distance from the point of drafting; and to free one hand from holding any type of UNSpun fibres, so other activities could be carried out concurrently – distaffs were placed in the BELT, or tucked into a backstrap. Distaffs were a variety of lengths, depending on the fibres to be spun and the context of use: most were probably wooden, since most of our information comes from art (Fig. 37) rather than ARCHAEOLOGY.

colus, *elakatē*, *epinētron*, *onos*; Barber (1991: 50, 69).

DIVINE ATTRIBUTE, CLOTHING AS A Various objects are routinely associated with deities in MYTHOLOGY, and referenced in art and literature: particular weapons (e.g. Poseidon's trident), animals (Athena's owl), or other objects (Apollo's lyre, Dionysos' thyrsus), even plants (Athena's olive branch, Demeter's corn). Quite frequently, however, they are characteristic garments (see Fig. 10, ATHENA, ARTEMIS). APHRODITE has a magical, desire-inducing *kestos*, which Hera sometimes borrows to seduce Zeus. Hermes is distinguished by his *chlamys* and *petasos*, traveller's dress which signifies his role as

messenger. Dionysos wears an Eastern leopard-SKIN, his MAENAD followers the skins of fawns whose gentleness they contradict. Divinities are generally noted for their BRIGHT, shining, clothing, except for the chthonic deities' BLACK clothing (especially Hades). Personifications also have distinctive clothing attributes, often their main epithet: Night can be black – or *poikileimōn*, *astrochitōn*, star-spangled – Dawn is SAFFRON-robed. Elsewhere in Greek literature, fine bright clothes are god-like, emphasizing heroic status or divine favour. In art, HERAKLES is recognized by his lion-skin, HELEN her VEIL. The divine attributes of the Roman pantheon in literature often derive from their Greek counterparts, although representations in art differ. Juno Sospita, for instance, had a special costume of a GOATSKIN and *calcei repandi* – shoes popular in the sixth century BC, when her image

presumably crystallized. Roman divinities also often wore the *praetexta*.

Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 1.29.82; Sebesta (2005: 113–20).

DORIC DRESS A term used by modern scholars to describe Greek women's dress in the post-HOMERIC, ARCHAIC and early CLASSICAL periods (Fig. 11). A distinguishing characteristic is the absence of the SLEEVES found in IONIAN dress. Until the early decades of the sixth century BC, all Greek women wore this style of dress, fastened with large PINS (see *chitōn*, *peplos*). An essential component is the long *chitōn poderēs* – equivalent to Homeric *peplos*, see Parthenon frieze, Erechtheum caryatids: rectangular, it from extended fingertip to fingertip in width, and was one foot longer than the wearer's entire height. The upper edge (*apoptygma*) was folded over from



Figure 10 Mythological figures with DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. From left: (1) ATHENA: distinctive HELMET, AEGIS, light patterned linen *chitōn*, under *peplos*(?) with swastika PATTERN. (2) HERAKLES: short patterned *chitōn*, Nemean lion-SKIN. (3) Apollo: short patterned *chitōn*, patterned *epiblema*(?), floral wreath. (4) Artemis: fine patterned linen TUNIC (cf. Archaic *korai*), large patterned *epiblema*, light VEIL, large earrings, floral WREATH. All BAREFOOT.

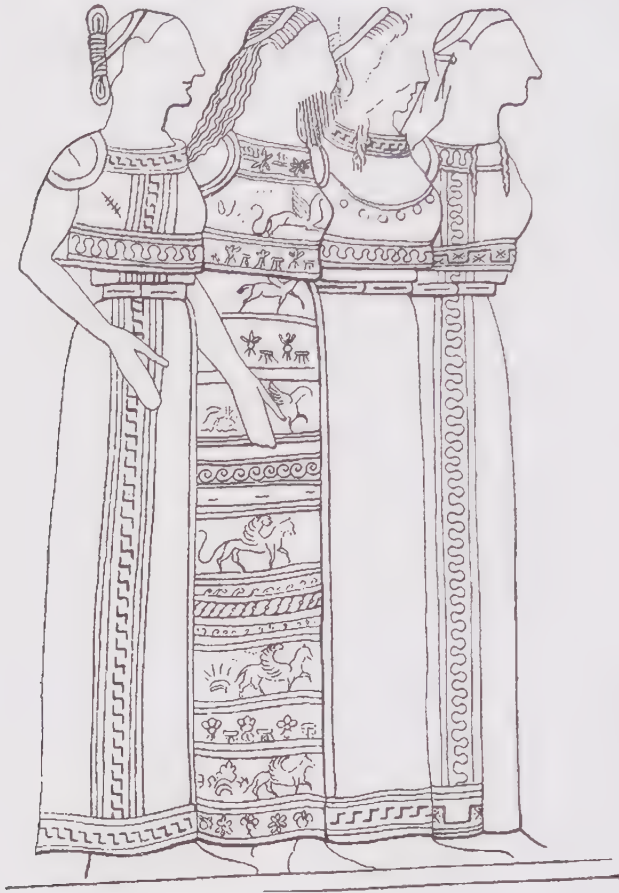


Figure 11 Muses in woollen DORIC peploi – large shoulder PINS clearly visible – decorated with elaborate BANDS of figures, deep kolpoi, waist sashes, hair fillets.

neck to waist, then the whole was folded in half lengthways and placed around the body, under the arms, with the opening at the left; finally, the upper fold was pinned together on the shoulders. Both arms were uncovered and the side of the garment was sometimes open – leading Laconian girls to be known as thigh-flashers. The fullness of the robe was held in place by means of a GIRDLE, over which the extra length was pulled up in front, forming the pouch-like kolpos. After the Persian wars, amid the wave of Hellenism which spread over Greece in reaction to Eastern influences, the

fashion for Doric dress had something of a revival; in SPARTA it seems that Doric dress remained the standard form of fashion through much of the Classical era.

dormitoria (L) Possibly NIGHTCLOTHES.

DRAPERY The draped CONSTRUCTION of ancient Greek and Roman dress has always been one of its primary distinguishing characteristics, both at the time and since, (see BARBARIANS, RECONSTRUCTIONS). Ancient art reflects a wide variety



Figure 12 Mythological or 'domestic' scene. From left: (1) Woman: wool **peplos**, unbelted, open down right side, headcloth. (2) Woman: very fine pleated Ionic **chiton**, pinned/buttoned 'sleeves' down forearm, woollen **himation**, hair styled in high curls, jewelled **stephanē**. (3) Man: very fine full **himation**, bare torso, **HAIR** styled high with ringlets, **WREATH**.

of **FASHIONS** in draping, and suggests that **FABRIC** was of particular importance to the overall look of a garment – more so than for tailored clothes, see **GRAIN**. At any rate, proper draping of garments was often regarded as one of the hallmarks of culture and civilized behaviour in Greek and Roman society, as opposed to the sewn garments of foreigners which required less skill and awareness to wear well. Many garments were characterized in use by the manner of their draping – especially well studied for the **toga** – rather than their shape or physical construction, which often complicates modern attempts to understand ancient garment types. Complex or

restrictive draping and **FOLDS** were often indicative of the leisure associated with high **STATUS**, as well as reflecting the wearer's personal skill and control of their movements and behaviour. A draped garment is not simply put on: it must be arranged around the body and held in place, its appearance being continually affected by **GESTURE**.

duplex, **ETRUSCAN DRESS**, **FASHION**, **FASTENINGS**, **GLADIATOR**, **helkesipeplos**, **lacerna**, **laena**, **palla**, **sinus**, **TROUSERS**.

DULL There were two primary oppositions governing the **COLOUR** of Greek and Roman dress: lightness (**WHITE**) vs. darkness (**BLACK**);

and BRIGHTNESS vs. dullness. The former have more obvious symbolic associations with RITUAL and MOURNING, while the latter seem to have impacted more on aesthetic appeal and STATUS. Ancient DYEING, CLEANING and MAINTENANCE meant dull colours were easier to achieve, and even bright colours tended towards dullness with age. Bright colours would generally have indicated the use of special dyes (e.g. PURPLE) materials (e.g. SILK) or techniques, often only available through TRADE. The greater visibility of bright colours was associated with high status, while dull colours seem to have been both practically and conceptually self-effacing. All of the specific colours ascribed symbolic or social significance seem to have been vivid shades: hues which tend to be dull from natural dyeing, like GREEN, are less emphasized in general, as opposed to RED or SAFFRON (cf. YELLOW). However, the greater prominence of bright colours in the sources does not necessarily reflect the reality of dress habits – most Greek and Roman dress was almost certainly of various relatively dull colours, not white or bright. Rather, these qualities were important by contrast.

Cleland (2003, 2004, forthcoming b).

duplex (L) Double, cf. **diplax**, used especially of the **laena**, but also the **amictus**, **abolla** and **ricinium**. The most obvious interpretation is that the garment in question was folded and worn as a double thickness: other suggestions include lining, material WOVEN with two different surface textures, or – of the **laena** in particular – worn draped over both shoulders to hang down at back and front.

Varro, *Latin Language* 5.132; Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.421; Servius, *In Aeneidem* 4.262.

DYEING A wide variety of textile COLOURS were available from a range of natural dyes, although this range – especially many more BRIGHT colours – increased greatly during the HELLENISTIC and Roman periods, due to

the expansion of TRADE and development of dyeing as a specialist, large-scale, enterprise. (Roman **tinctores** had their own guilds in major towns.) These developments meant that an expanded range of dyestuffs could be maximized by complex processes requiring relatively rare MORDANTS (cf. PURPLE). Then too, it is in this period we first have written technical records of dyeing practices, particularly the papyri of Hellenistic Egypt. These indicate that dyeing was already a highly developed, well-established art – our first access to evidence should not be confused with radical technical change. Earlier ARCHAEOLOGICAL, as well as LITERARY, evidence for dyeing is minimized because, in the ‘cottage industries’ of home TEXTILE MANUFACTURE, its equipment and processes probably overlapped considerably with cooking and other domestic tasks – although evidence exists for early large-scale dyeing operations at Mycenae and Corinth.

The fundamental processes of natural dyeing have remained relatively unchanged from prehistory to the present. Certain plants (see PLANT DYES), and a very few shell-fish (**murex**) and insects, contain chemically active colour compounds which, once extracted, are induced to combine with natural fibres, producing relatively stable colours. Sometimes this is simply by infusion of the dye and the textile in hot water, as for SAFFRON. At the other end of the scale, shell-fish PURPLE DYES require an immensely complex, still imperfectly understood, process to render them water-soluble and bond with fibres to obtain particular colours. Most plant dyes fall between these extremes, many requiring an additional chemical, or MORDANT, for a stable colour. There are a relatively small number of plant sources which give fairly fast and distinctive colours on most fibre types, using simple processes and common mordants. These include woad (**isatin**, **glastum**, BLUE), madder (**erythros**, **rubia**, RED) and weld (**ochra**, **luteus**, YELLOW): the dyes most commonly referenced in literary sources. However, these are a tiny fraction of potential sources,

although most of the others give relatively non-fast, DULL colours in the yellow-green-brown range. Thus fast, bright colours – most famously purple – were prized in ancient clothing. Nevertheless, non-fastness could be overcome by re-dyeing, or over-dyeing to a darker colour – although these practices would in turn have increased the VALUE of coloured DECORATION reliant on fast colour.

Barber (1991: 223–43); Sebesta (1994: 65–76); **bamma, bapto, tingo, infector, offectores.**

DYES See various COLOURS, DYEING, and TRADE. Barber provides excellent summaries of the literature: SOURCES (1991: 223–25);

various dyes (1991: 227–29); COLOURS (1991: 229–35); MORDANTS (1991: 235–9); ARCHAEOLOGY of dye-works (1991: 239–43). Pliny has a lot to say about dyes and their techniques in *Natural History*, as do Hellenistic papyri.

dyschlaina (G) Shabby clothing. See TRAGEDY.

Euripides, *Hecuba* 240, *Helen* 416.

dyseimatos, dyseimonia (G) Literally, badly clothed, bad clothing, implying misery and destitution.

Euripides, *Electra* 1107; Scholiast on *Hecuba* 240; **rhakos**; Milanezi (2005: 75–86).

E

EARRINGS Worn by women but not men – except in Egypt and the near east – throughout the Classical period. Evidence comes from **ARCHAEOLOGY** (usually graves) and art (e.g. Pompeian wall-paintings, **EGYPTIAN** mummy portraits, **PALMYRENE** funerary reliefs). Earrings were generally made for pierced ears, with hooks for insertion. Popularity of different designs, made in a variety of materials, varied according to period and place: **GOLD** and **GEMS**, as well as **PEARLS**, were favoured by those who could afford them, but cheaper metals and other materials (e.g. glass, **BEADS**) were also used. Hoop, disc or pendant earrings were ubiquitous: decoration includes granulation, openwork and filigree, and enamel inlay, while animal or human heads – especially lions – and small figures such as Eros or Victory were popular motifs.

Higgins (1980).

EASTERN PROVINCES (of the Roman empire) The **toga** was seen as a specifically Roman form of dress, only worn in the Eastern provinces of the Roman empire by officials and others making a point of their adherence to Rome. The usual form of male dress remained the **TUNIC** and **himation/pallium**: **SYMBOLIZING** Greekness, and/or intellectual interests (e.g. statues of Herodes Atticus' family on his Nymphaeum, Olympia). Influence from further east (Parthia,

modern Iran) particularly affected the most easterly provinces (see **PALMYRA**). **JEWISH** clothing generally conforms to the above standard, but there were some more specific rules that applied to their dress.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 267A; 1 Corinthians 2.5–6.

EFFEMINACY Given the relative lack of **GENDER DISTINCTION** in Greek and Roman dress, effeminacy can be a tricky subject. Certain garments, especially in specific contexts, had a definite association with either **MASCULINITY** or **FEMININITY**, but some are associated more with **CROSS-DRESSING** than effeminacy. In the Greek world, wearing fine light **FABRICS**, or garments made from them, e.g. **ampechone**, was effeminate. Effeminacy (*mollitia*) was more clearly defined for Romans: taking too much care of one's grooming and dress; wearing exotic, **LUXURIOUS** or feminine clothes (like jewelled **socci**); **BRIGHT** colours, **DECORATION** or flimsy materials like **SILK**. Cicero uses effeminate dress in attacking Verres (*Against Verres* 2.5.33) and Antony (*Phillipic* 2.18.44–5, 2.30.76). The item of dress most likely to be termed effeminate was an ankle-length tunic with wrist-length sleeves and a loosely tied **BELT**: Quintilian suggests that a man's tunic should be knee-length and anything longer is womanish (11.3.138). Nevertheless, Julius Caesar wore a loosely belted tunic with long fringed sleeves. Men

were also considered effeminate for wearing SANDALS rather than SHOES in public, while accusations of effeminate dress often overlap with dress styles perceived as GREEK. The evidence for these ideas on proper ‘manly’ dress belongs to the period of the late Republic and early-mid Empire: later Roman fashion allowed men to wear longer garments with long sleeves without stigma. It often seems that any aspect of dress not specifically coded as masculine could, depending on the context and bias of the commentator, lay the wearer open to such accusations. However, the sources leave no doubt that many men could and did wear relatively or extremely effeminate garments, without crossing the line into cross-dressing, as would now be the case.

Aulus Gellius, 1.5, 6.12; Martial, 1.96; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.3; *chlanis*, *chlidē*, *krēpis*, *kokotos*, *mitra*, *soccus*, *solea*, *tunica*, *tunica talaris*.

egkyklon (G) A short shaped TUNIC or MANTLE worn by women, probably WOVEN with a curved edge, from *egkyklos* ‘circular.’

Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 261, *Lysistrata* 113; IG II² 1514.48; Cleland (2005b).

EGYPTIAN DRESS The hot climate meant that simple lightweight LINEN garments were preferred (Fig. 13). Whilst a number of New Kingdom textiles have survived, studies of ancient Egyptian dress are still largely based upon wall-paintings, reliefs and sculptures. Men usually dressed in short linen kilts with a band of cloth worn over the shoulders, women in long linen dresses. New Kingdom fashion became more complex, with intricate FOLDS or pleats for TUNICS and wrap-around dresses. Ordinary Egyptians wore coarse linen, while the richer and wealthier Egyptians dressed in a lighter, much finer cloth: semi-TRANSPARENT ‘royal linen’ was the finest of all. Elaborate clothing and HEADRESSES were worn by royalty for ceremonial occasions, and animal SKINS, usually leopard, would sometimes be worn

by PRIESTS or Pharaoh for important RITUALS. The basic garments of the average Egyptian changed little throughout Egypt’s history: kilt length varied slightly, short during the Old Kingdom – although fashionable elites wore it longer – gradually lengthening during the Middle Kingdom. Kilts were worn over a basic T-shaped bag tunic with short SLEEVES – fitted long sleeves could be attached – and were sometimes pleated, wrapped round the waist and held in place by a BELT or SASH. Very little SEWING was used. Women’s tunics were made from long rectangular pieces of cloth: folded in half, with an opening cut in the centre for the head, and the lower sides sewn together. These could cover one or both shoulders, or have shoulder straps, and were usually ankle length. The top fell anywhere from the neck to below the breast, the fit might be very tight or quite loose. In the New Kingdom an elaborate pleated sari-like garment was fastened in a knot below the bust. Both sexes shaved their heads as well as their bodies for cleanliness, so WIGS were worn as decorative apparel, while JEWELLERY was an important component of male and female dress. Neck collars, made from clay BEADS, GOLD, glass and semi-precious stones, were very popular, as were AMULETS, usually of favourite gods and goddesses, and MAKE-UP, particularly GREEN and BLACK eye-shadow. HEADRESSES came in all shapes and sizes, Pharaoh’s CROWN being by far the most elaborate.

Textiles survive better in the Egyptian climate than elsewhere in the Roman world and substantial numbers of fragmentary Roman garments are extant. These provide valuable information about FABRIC and CONSTRUCTION (e.g. tunics and SOCKS). Further information is provided by mummy portraits and painted linen shrouds showing garments in use. Both men and women wear a tunic and cloak: men’s tunics are often white with two vertical coloured STRIPES, and their mantles (not togas) are often also white, whereas women wear a greater variety of colours and jewellery. Both sexes might wear more than one tunic at a time.

Egypt was known as a producer of good-quality and LUXURY textiles, especially of linen and linen-silk mixtures, and in LATE ANTIQUITY produced and TRADED complex WOVEN figured roundels, squares and BANDS used for decoration.

Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993).

eirion, erion (G) WOOL.

Odyssey 4.124; Plato, *Symposium* 175d.

ekplytos (G) Washed-out, especially COLOURS from cloth, at BRAURON refers to PURPLE decoration, see **halourgors, plyno**.

Plato, *Republic* 430a; Herodotus, 1.203; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 575: IG II² 1514.21.

ēlakata (G) A roll or rove of processed WOOL for SPINNING, cf. **ēlakatē**.

haliporphyra *Odyssey* 6.53, 306 cf. 7.105, 18.315; Barber (1991: 262).

ēlakatē (G) The stalk of a SPINDLE cf. **sphondylos**.

Iliad 6. 491, *Odyssey* 4.135.

embades, embas (G) Men's laced BOOTS (*embainein*, 'to step into') lined with FELT or FUR: sometimes worn by Dionysos – so adopted as tragic STAGE COSTUME. Apparently a Boeotian fashion, in Aristophanes they are worn by old men and poor people. A special female form was called **Sikyōnia embas** (from Sikyon) – a delicate boot of soft WHITE LEATHER.



Figure 13 Tutankhamun and his queen in EGYPTIAN court fashion. Pharaoh wears a 'war CROWN' and pleated LINEN FRINGED tunic under short linen kilt with a colourful woven belt. Queen wears a knotted wrap-around linen robe (un-SEWN), short WIG with symbolic side-lock, and elaborate crown of *uraeii*, cow horns, FEATHERS and sun disk. Both wear SANDALS, jewelled collars, NECKLACES and BRACELETS.

Herodotus, 1.195; Aristophanes, *Knights* 870, *Clouds*, 858; *Greek Anthology* 6.21.

EMBROIDERY Given the lack of direct ARCHAEOLOGICAL evidence and the extreme fragility of needles and thread, conclusive evidence for embroidery is often difficult to find, and debates have raged about the relative frequency of embroidered vs. WOVEN textile DECORATION, particularly in early Greece. Technical considerations, however – and rare fragmentary textiles, which often show the marks of vanished woollen embroidery – show that embroidery was a perfectly available technique, and far faster and easier for achieving sporadic decoration (e.g. *astrochitōn*) than weaving. Linguistic support for embroidery as a distinct PATTERNING or decorative technique comes from contrastive use of *katastiktos* to *poikilos* at BRAURON: derived from *stizein*, ‘to prick’, this seems to refer specifically to embroidery – and is frequently used as the defining characteristic of garments, perhaps indicating that embroidery was visually distinctive to Greek eyes.

In Latin, *pictus* is often equated with embroidery, but might equally be painted. Early Roman garments were not usually highly decorated – *toga picta* being exceptional – but decoration becomes more of a feature in later artistic representations from the late third century AD. It is possible that some designs were embroidered onto cloth, but surviving remains of textiles – nearly all from EGYPT – suggest that most patterns were woven, and limited to small areas of the garment. Modern scholars often do not distinguish between woven and embroidered since the distinction is not generally drawn in LITERATURE (see *poikilma*, *poikilia*, *poikilos*, *poikilō*). Pliny records that embroidery was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as having been invented by the Phrygians.

NH 8.74.196; Barber (1991: 186–94); Cleland (2005b: 117).

emperonama (G) A garment fastened with a BROOCH or PIN on one shoulder.

Theocritus, 15.34 cf. *exōmis*, *chitōn heteromaschalos*; Herodotus, 7.77.

EMPERORS AND EMPRESSES Although Roman rulers of the early to mid-imperial period often wore very expensive clothing – of SILK and GOLD thread, or dyed PURPLE, with liberal use of GEMS – there was no particular type which distinguished the emperor from other wealthy individuals. Most emperors – and some empresses – are represented wearing WREATHS or CROWNS, sometimes elaborated by the addition of jewels, but the true *diadem*, symbolizing monarchy in the HELLENISTIC world, was generally avoided. Some emperors – notably Caligula and Nero – restricted the wearing of purple to the imperial family, but it seems that the purple *paludamentum* was worn by Roman generals as well as the emperor in military mode, and was not exclusively imperial. Only from Constantine I onwards were more consistent imperial regalia developed: the jewelled BROOCH with pendants used to fasten a large CLOAK, and the diadem crown with hanging PENDILIA at the sides. Both are seen fully developed in Fig. 8.

Stout (1994: 77–100).

empilia (G) Soft FELT SHOES, cf. *impilia*

Charisius, 552K.

endromides, endromis (G/L) A short HUNTING BOOT or BUSKIN worn by ATHLETES in foot-races and by ARTEMIS: split up the inside to make them easier to put on. The word also denoted MILITARY boots and, in Latin, a thick woollen CLOAK to keep out the cold after exercise.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 16; *Greek Anthology* 4.253; Juvenal, 3.103, 6.246; Martial, 4.19.4.

endyma (G) A garment or covering, from *endyō*.

Strabo, 3.3.7; Plutarch, *Solon* 8.

endyō (G) To put on, dress.

Iliad 2.42; Herodotus, 3.98; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 759.

endyton (G) An unspecified garment, from *endyō*, also the fawn-SKINS worn by MAENADS.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 32; Euripides, *Bacchae* 111.

enhyphaino (G) To WEAVE PATTERN: general decoration, BORDERS, FIGURES or letters.

Herodotus, 3.47 cf. 1.203; *IG* II² 1514.9; Menander, 561; Theophrastus, *Characters* 5.9.

enraptō (G) To SEW up.

Herodotus, 2.146, cf. *IG* XIV 1285, 1292.

ependyma (G) A man's outer garment, probably a CLOAK, from *ependyō*, 'to put over', also perhaps a Sicilian belted TUNIC.

Plutarch, *Alexander* 32.

ependytēs (G) Of PERSIAN or Oriental origin, a tunic-like garment of WOOL or LINEN, worn over a *chitōn*, reaching to the waist, thigh or knee. Often used in Athenian art as a distinctive garment for Persians or AMAZONS (Figs 2, 14), it nevertheless became part of the Athenian male and female wardrobe (perhaps attested at BRAURON, cf. *chitōniskos*) in various COLOURS, with decorative BORDERS, most popularly the *parakymatios* sea-wave pattern. Its primary purpose was to add decorative luxuriousness to dress: wearing it connoted WEALTH, but professional male and female musicians and dancing girls could use it as a form of COSTUME.

Herodotus, 1.195; Sophocles, *Fr.* 439; Miller (1997: 170–83).

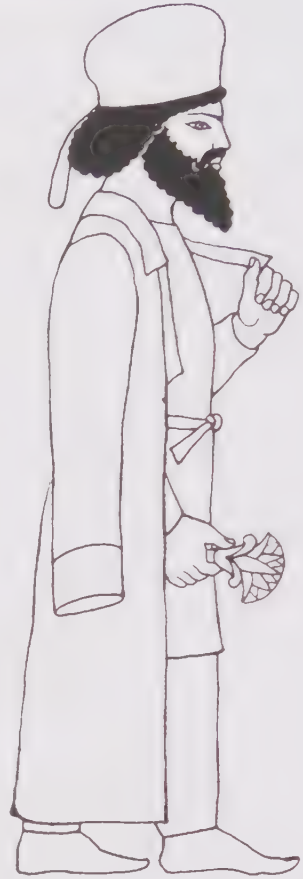


Figure 14 Nobleman: PERSIAN (Median) dress – two-piece T-shaped TUNIC and TROUSER suit (*anaxyrides*, *ependytēs*); *kandys* with long hanging-sleeves, leather BOOTS, long beard, rounded FELT hat with a small streamer.

ephamma, ephaptis (G) A SOLDIER'S garment, possibly a CLOAK, but also used for a woman's dress.

Polybius, 30.25.10; Strabo, 7.2.3.

ephestris (G) A CLOAK used by SOLDIERS and PHILOSOPHERS, but also a woman's dress.

Xenophon, *Symposium*; Athenaeus, 3.98a; Plutarch, *Lucullus* 28; *Greek Anthology* 9.153.

ephyphē (G) The WFT thread on a LOOM, cf. *stemōn*.

Plato, *Laws* 734e.

epiblēma (G) A large rectangular CLOAK worn by men or women, often drawn over the head to VEIL, also more generally any kind of covering – bedspreads, hangings and tapestries (Figs 10, 46). Described with complex FIGURATIVE decoration at BRAURON.

Isaeus, 3.22; IG II² 1514.31, 33.

epichrusa (G) GOLD-plated, sometimes of metal decorations on garments, cf. *pasmata*, *epitektos*.

IG II² 1522.15; Herodotus, 1.50; IG I² 880.

EPIGRAPHY Since ancient garments so rarely survive in ARCHAEOLOGY, and LITERARY references to clothing are almost always impressionistic, ancient inscriptions provide an especially valuable source for ancient dress, clarifying the immense but confusing evidence provided by artistic representations. However, the epigraphic record is, by its very nature, sparse – apart from rare instances, like the catalogues of dedicated clothing from Artemis BRAURONIA, Tanagra or Miletus, few inscriptions make more than incidental reference to garments. Nevertheless, they can tell us a great deal about the VALUE of garments, or – as with CLOTHING REGULATIONS – their SYMBOLIC significance. Funerary inscriptions, often found in conjunction with artistic representations of relief figures on tombstones, are particularly valuable in clarifying the role and status appropriate to the wearers of particular garments.

PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN Pritchett (1953; 1956); Cleland (2005b); *anthinos*, *ependytēs*, *himation*, *kandys*, *sameia*, *sindōn*, *sindonitas*, *thapsinos*.

epinētron (G) A POTTERY knee-cover, used in CARDING and SPINNING WOOL, which

extended up the thigh, generally had incisions on the upper surface for texture, and was sometimes decorated with scenes of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE. It provided an alternative to the bare thigh for rolling carded wool into the fluffy rolags to be drafted for spinning. Most surviving examples come from Classical Attica, although some have been found from Mycenaean Rhodes. Pollux glosses this term as DISTAFF (7.32 cf. *ēlakate*, *onos*), but modern scholars use it exclusively for the knee-guard.

Xanthoudides (1910: 333–4); Barber (1991: 77–8).

epiporpēma, **epiporpōma**, **epiporpama** (G) A CLOAK or robe BUCKLED at the shoulders, a kind of *chlamys*; part of the COSTUME of musicians.

Plutarch, *Alexander* 32; Plato *Comicus*, 10.

epitektos (G) Overlaid with GOLD, with gold ornaments, *pasmata* on *trichapton* at BRAURON.

IG II² 1386.16; 1544.13; IG II² 1524B.178.

epomydes (G/L) The shoulder straps joining the front and back plates of the CUIRASS.

EQUITES (DRESS OF) This Roman social and economic rank – below SENATORS, but above common citizens – was signalled by various aspects of dress (see STATUS): narrow STRIPES on men's tunics (*angusti clavi*), a plain white *toga*, BLACK *calcei* (probably of inferior quality, lower priced in PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN 9.7–9) and the *trabea*. Equites as Roman cavalry are represented on Trajan's column wearing CLOAKS – fastened on the shoulder with a *fibula* – over knee breeches (*feminalia*) and tunics, with BREASTPLATES or body armour, and HELMETS. The *equites singulares Augusti* – the emperor's bodyguard, brought to Rome from Upper Germany by Trajan in AD 99 – also originally wore a sleeveless or short-sleeved tunic with knee

breeches and a cloak – shorter **sagulum** or longer **paenula** – and **caligae**. Under Caracalla (early third century AD) this ‘UNIFORM’ was replaced by a long-sleeved tunic and close-fitting long trousers, with boots and a cloak (**sagum**). This method of dress was more obviously BARBARIAN and more showy than that of ordinary soldiers, with more expensive materials, colour and decoration. Their parade and sports ARMOUR was particularly impressive.

Speidel (1994).

ereous (G) Of WOOL, a woollen garment.

Plato, *Politics* 280e; *IG* I(2) 386.18.

ergasia (G) TRADE or productive labour such as TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

Plato, *Gorgias* 449d.

ergastērion (G) A factory or WEAVING workshop.

Herodotus, 4.14; Lysias, 12.8.

ergatēs/ergatis (G) A workman/woman, WEAVER of cloth.

Aristotle, *History of Animals* 627a 12.

erion (G) WOOL.

Iliad 12.434, etc.; Plato *Symposium* 175d.

eriplytes (G) A WOOL-cleaner or FULLER, see CLEANING.

Dioscorides, 2.163

eripōlēō; ēriōpōlēs; eriopōlikōs (G) To sell or deal WOOL; a wool dealer; and by extension, roguish.

Pollux, 7.28; Critias, 70D; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1386.

eriourgeō (G) To work in WOOL.

Xenophon, *Lakonians* 1.3.

erioxulon (G) Literally ‘wool-wood’, COTTON.

Ulpian, *Commentary on Demosthenes* 32.70.9.

EROTICISM, EROTICIZATION Some instances of eroticism in ancient art are very evident to modern eyes, others are not. In considering the erotic aspects of ancient cultures our own perspective remains fundamentally based on Christian ideas of the body, modesty and sexuality, despite their recent rejection in contemporary culture. These ideas were foreign to the Greek world, and problematic even in the later Roman period. So obvious – to us – instances of eroticizing the body and clothing should not obscure the less familiar, e.g. fetishization of the male body, barely part of our modern tradition. Unlike the female body in Greek art, the male body is often represented NUDE. This is often characterized as heroic, rather than erotic (perhaps partly because the nude male figure is now desexualized, with the stark exception of erect genitalia).

However, there seems no real reason to regard *kouros* figures as less eroticized than *korai*, their female counterparts: the latter’s main sexualization tends to be clinging, transparent fabric – revealing the buttocks and legs, rather than emphasizing the breasts or pudenda. In discussing nudity, little attention has been paid to garments that do appear on otherwise nude male figures – principally the FILLET, WREATH or other head-band, and ARMOUR, sometimes with an abbreviated or TRANSPARENT *exomis*, cf. Fig. 6. Similarly, figures wearing the *chlamys* alone are more often the subject of discussion about male UNDERWEAR than of eroticism.

This is striking: these are the minimal garments that modern experience leads us to expect eroticizing the female figure – providing a titillating contrast between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ – but which in ancient art appear only later on women. The Venus de Milo, whose erotic appeal was praised then as now, originally depicted APHRODITE

SPINNING – fetishizing gender role in a similar way to the minimal ATHLETIC or MILITARY attributes of the *kouroi* – with her garment tantalizingly combining exposure and concealment, just as the *chlamys* emphasizes the nakedness and liminal status of the young male ephebe. Classical art, however, primarily fetishizes the male figure in this way: women are depicted either clothed, or naked – often actively engaged in sex, more of an explicit advert than eroticism, see PROSTITUTION.

Modern art eroticizing the female has an intermediate stage – depiction of underwear, a primary marker of femininity – which reveals, conceals, emphasizes and continually reinforces the inherently polluting nature of the female sexual body. Underwear does not play this role in ancient art or eroticism, see BRASSIERES. Of course, the female body was eroticized in ancient art, but this was differently accomplished. AMAZONS, for instance, are clearly eroticized in Classical art – in one sense, simply by the body-exposing *heteromaschalos* with its short ‘skirt’ – but also, in Greek society, by further erotic charge probably from the TRANSVESTISM of this dress: the nubile, but athletic, female body in characteristically male garb, implying the best of both worlds. Female CROSS-DRESSING is a common topos in art and MYTHOLOGY, and should remind us that the elaborate social and erotic construction of male–male sexuality in Greek culture did not exist in a vacuum.

Amazons and prostitutes aside, women in Greek art are eroticized literally through, rather than by, their clothing. In art, we tend to focus on the way the body can be seen through clothing, in what appear to be primarily artistic conventions of transparent, fine and clinging FABRICS. However, given the relative lack of coyness with which the naked body is otherwise portrayed and discussed – and our aforementioned anachronistic concern with Christian ideas of radical bodily concealment – this should perhaps not be read so literally. The erotic charge

here perhaps comes not so much from a peepshow mentality, as from the instantiation of complex metaphors about femininity. The female body depicted *through* clothes asserts the existence of both; both the socially constructed, concealing ‘front’ – the personal control of *sophrosyne*, the social control of female enclosure – and the intimate ‘other’ world within – of unbounded female sexuality, emphasized rather than denied by Greek culture, and of private intimacy (in the home, in the body) to which male access was radically restricted.

As in other cultures, SHOES are the ultimate literalization of these abstract ideas, also encapsulated in bridal dress and the *anakalypteria*. It is notable that in literary and artistic representations of the BRIDE, intense – again almost fetishistic, but certainly erotic – attention is devoted to the elaborate and LUXURIOUS garments which cover and enclose the nubile female, implying the desirability of what is covered, because it is covered and worth covering. In short, the eroticization of the feminine in Greek culture focuses as much on the covering as the covered. The erotic appeal of other garments emphasized in literature, like the *chitōnion* and *krokōtos*, seems also to focus on this conjunction of constructed FEMININITY enclosing innate female sexuality, rather than necessarily revealing it, while the appeal of the *kestos* also seems to relate to the nexus of binding and unbinding which underlies these ideas.

Bonfante (1989). Llewellyn-Jones (2002: 111–24, 171–202).

errammena (G) SEWN or stitched fabric, a cushion or pad.

Alexander, 98.11; Xenophon, *Art of Horsemanship* 12.9.

erythraeus (L) The natural REDDISH hue of WOOL.

Pliny, *NH* 8.73.193; Columella, 7.3.2.

erythros (G) RED, perhaps particularly DYED with madder cf. **kokkinos**, **phoinikos**.

Iliad 9.365 (bronze); Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 265 (blood).

esthēma, **esthēs**, **esthos** (G) General terms for dress or clothing, or MOURNING garb, but also specifically the COSTUME of a prophetess.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1270; Herodotus, 3.66; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.19.

ētrion, **atrimon** (G) The WARP threads (cf. **crokē**, WEFT). Also, in the plural, a thin fabric, with gaps between the threads, see **euētrios**.

Plato, *Phaedrus* 268a; Barber (1991: 273); Euripides, *Ion* 1421.

ETRUSCAN DRESS Had much in common with Greek dress, despite significant differences, and some specifically Etruscan garments and styles (Fig. 15). Etruscan dress generally shows noticeable rapid changes in FASHION, but it is often difficult to tell whether art – e.g. statues, figurines and tomb-painting – represents real dress, or COSTUMES restricted to mythological figures or the theatre: foreign iconographic conventions might be adopted without the dress they represent. From art – and a few extant remains – Etruscan clothing seems more complex and more fitted than Greek, with bright COLOURS, contrasting DECORATION (particularly BORDERS) and fine FABRICS: even in the seventh century BC, plaid tunics and cloaks were fashionable, and rich tombs were provided with fabrics of GOLD and PURPLE. The Etruscans had a reputation for liking LUXURIOUS clothes – even for their servants. LINEN was used alongside WOOL from an early date, and seems to have been home-produced as well as imported from Egypt.

Basic items (as in Greece) were CLOAKS and the TUNIC or **chitōn**. The latter was worn by both sexes, its length and shape varying

according to fashion, gender and age – in the seventh century it was fairly thick wool, but by c. 550 BC a wider, thinner 'Ionic' version was preferred. The short **chitōniskos** was worn by young men, while older men wore a longer version, generally unbelted, and women the longest, BELTED. In the HELLENISTIC period women favoured a narrower tunic of fine linen, pinned once on each shoulder – therefore sleeveless – and belted high under the bosom: this was often accompanied by chain body jewellery. A rectangular **himation**-style MANTLE was also worn, and a variety of FOOTWEAR, much of it Greek style.

Certain styles of dress and types of garments were unique, or more commonly worn in Etruria than Greece. As Etruscans were not as keen on total NUDITY as the Greeks, even for ATHLETES, there is more evidence of men wearing the **perizoma**, a covering for the hips and genitals. This could take a number of different forms – a draped, nappy-like LOINCLOTH; an APRON- or skirt-like version; and a more structured and closely-fitting garment like boxer shorts, some remarkably like Y-fronts – worn in the eighth and seventh centuries BC with the 'Villanovan' BELT. The **tebenna** (Fig. 15) was an all-purpose mantle, worn by both men and women, WOVEN to shape, often with a border on the curved edge, and DRAPED in a number of ways, but most often like the Roman **toga**: over the left shoulder, across the back, under the right arm, back over the left shoulder. Some early women's fashions also appear uniquely Etruscan: the 'BACKMANTLE' and the **tutulus** HAIRSTYLE, usually covered with a veil or mantle, which has been mistaken for a hat. Wearing TASSELS hanging from the shoulders at the front and the back was apparently a STATUS symbol from c. 500 BC to the early third century.

Perhaps the best-known Etruscan fashions, however, involve footwear. **Tyrrhenica** were specifically Etruscan: tombs have yielded examples of wooden soles for such

SANDALS, hinged across the instep. These would have been more flexible, and possibly easier to walk in, than the standard rigid wooden soles. From c. 550–475 BC both male and female Etruscans also favoured a particular type of shoe with pointed upturned toes, conventionally called *calcei repandi*: substantial, reaching to mid-calf, BLACK or RED, presumably made of leather, with a complex system of laces including *corrigiae* tied round the ankle (cf. *calcei*). In Etruria, a more blunt-toed version continued after the pointed-toe shoe went out of fashion. Etruscan men also had a

great liking for HATS – both brimmed *petasos* type and brimless *pilleus*: Etruscan PRIESTS (*haruspices*) also wore a characteristic type of hat – tall and twisted.

The Romans ascribed the origin of many of the more traditional aspects of their own dress to the Etruscans, but much of their symbolic VALUE was Roman rather than Etruscan. The Roman *toga* developed from the Etruscan *tebenna*, while the PURPLE STRIPE of the *toga praetexta* seems to have originated with the coloured border on the *tebenna*'s curved edge. Many Etruscan men wore WHITE tunics with two

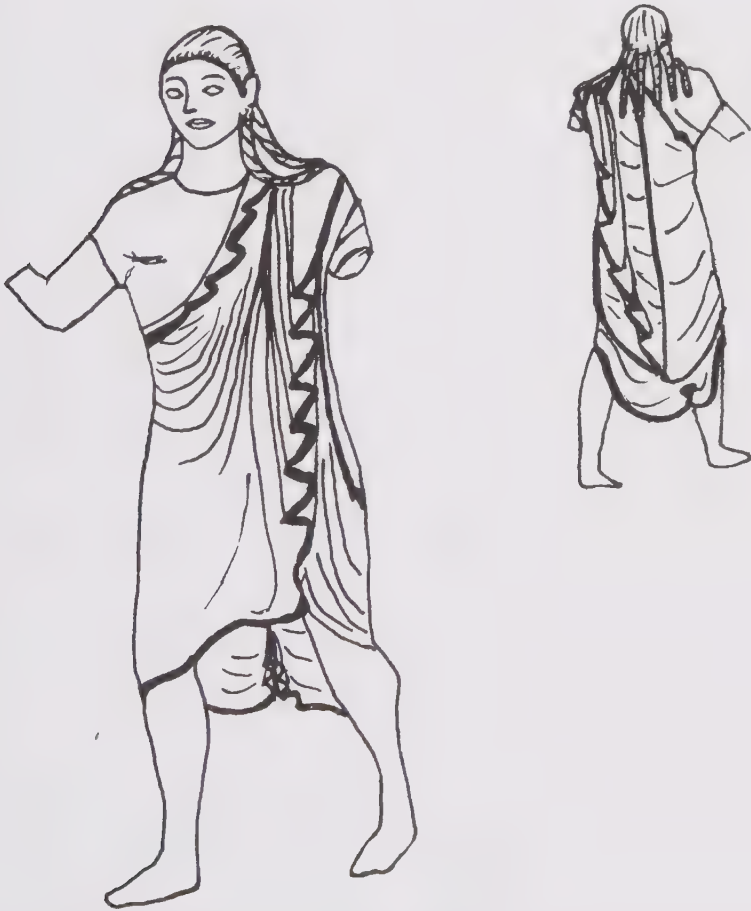


Figure 15 ETRUSCAN archaic statue of Apollo from Veii, in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome, wearing the *tebenna*.

reddish-purple vertical stripes similar to Roman *clavi*, but apparently without the same reference to social status. Roman *calcei* are also the same in basic form as Etruscan shoes, but with stricter rules about who could wear them. Late Etruscan clothing could equally be worn by a Roman magistrate (Fig. 41). Other symbolic or RITUAL clothing worn by the Romans which appears to derive from Etruscan dress includes the *toga picta*, the *bullā* and the *tutulus* HAIRSTYLE, which was retained for the *Flaminica*.

Bonfante (2003).

euētrios, euatrios (G) Fine thread or a finely WOVEN or worked textile.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 47; Plato, *Politics* 310e; *Greek Anthology* 6. 289.

euklōstos (G) Well-spun thread or a well-SPUN garment.

Greek Anthology 6.33.

eumaris (G) An Eastern SHOE or slipper, possibly of deer-SKIN.

Pollux, 7.90; BARBARIAN, Euripides, *Orestes* 1370; SAFFRON, Aeschylus, *Persians* 660.

eumitos (G) Fine threads.

Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Tauris* 817.

eungētos (G) Well-SPUN or WOVEN fabric.

Iliad 18.596.

eupēnos (G) A finely textured fabric.

Euripides, *Iphigeneia Tauris* 312, 814.

euzōnos (G) Literally 'well-BELTED' – used in Homer as an epithet for honorable women – later refers to girding up one's clothes for exercise or physical activity, usually in a male context.

Iliad 1.429; cf. Herodotus, 1.72.

EVIDENCE See SOURCES.

evolve (L) To draw out a thread, i.e. to SPIN, especially of the FATES.

exastis (G) SELVAGE, HEADING-BAND or FRINGE, see *asma*, *diasmata* etc. (Fig. 25) Also *existos*, fringed.

Barber (1991: 271); *Michel* 832.15 (Samos, fourth century BC); *IG* II² 1514.29.

exōmis (G/L) A garment, perhaps a CLOAK or *chitōn*, fastened over one shoulder only, FASHIONABLE in Athens among SPARTAN sympathizers and Cynic PHILOSOPHERS: a DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of Hermes in art, cf. *chitōn heteromaschalos*. In a Roman context, a SLEEVELESS TUNIC.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.7.5; Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 3.2; Aulus Gellius, 6.12.3.

F

FABRIC Ancient clothing employed a wide variety of fabric types. However, ancient definitions tend to derive from the appearance of the textile, rather than techniques or weave-types, such as **TWILL**, **BROCADE**: literary evidence generally eschews technical terms, while pre-industrial production was essentially unstandardized – even large **WEAVING**-shops employed hand-**LOOMS**. Nevertheless, there was a spectrum of fabric types, in terms of quality, composition, weight and purpose. Although we can rarely put names or pictures to various fabrics, it is essential to realize that they existed: that ancient **TEXTILE MANUFACTURE** encompassed a very wide variety of skills and techniques, creating almost any desired effect, from extreme fineness and **TRANSPARENCY**, to ribbed, stretchy, heavy or **WATERPROOF**. The most common material was sheep's wool (**erion**, **lana**), made into **WOVEN** fabrics and **FELT**, of which a wide variety of colours and qualities were available. Goats' hair was also made into fabric used for heavy-duty capes (see **cilicium**, **sisyra**) and also for socks. **LINEN** (**linos**, **linum**) was the next most common material. **SILK** (**bombacyna**, **serikos**) mostly imported from China, was also used for lightweight cloth, worn by both sexes, but seen as rather decadent and effeminate for men. Silk was very expensive – equal to gold, by weight – and usually, like **COTTON**, mixed with other **FIBRES** (**SHA**

Aurelian 45.5). Various **LUXURY** textiles were also available, often involving purple, gold and silk: gold lamé cloth was already used in Rome's regal period and there are remains of cloth using gold in early Etruscan tombs. **Attalic** cloth also used gold **EMBROIDERY**.

Many different weaves were known, from simple plain weaves to complex diamond twills: some triple twill from Cisalpine Gaul was so heavy that it could only be cut with a saw (**Martial**, 14.143). In general, Roman authors devote more time to fabric types than their Greek counterparts, making their references less obscure: **Plautus** suggests a range of fashionable textures, and **Pliny** refers to cloth that was teased and clipped to provide a smooth finish (***Epidicus*** 2.2.229–35; ***NH*** 8.74.195). Garments were also made using **SPRANG**, with some evidence for **KNITTING**. Straw and woven palm were used for various items including shoes, as in early times were willows (**Isidore**, ***Origins*** 19.34.2); wood and cork were also used for soles. All in all, the evidence points to a complex and varied textile culture throughout the period, with specialist techniques and producers taking good advantage of **TRADE**, but their methods are only rarely recorded or discussed. Ancient loom types were not particularly complex mechanically: complexity was rather achieved by the way the threads were set.

The preserved archaeological remains, primarily Egyptian, should not be seen as fully representative of ancient fabric types.

Van Wees (2005: 44–54); Sebesta and Bonfante (1994); Martial, 14.141(140); Pliny, *NH* 33.19.63.

FAN-BEARERS Early near eastern states and Egypt employed SLAVES and servants to manipulate fans for high officials; ‘Fan-Bearer on the Right of the King’ was even an honorific court title of Egyptian New Kingdom high officials. The Greeks certainly knew of this practice: in drama a Phrygian slave discusses being fan-bearer to HELEN, whilst the Orientalized Taurian king is also attended by such a eunuch. In Athens, fan-bearers only appear in the presence of women: by the early fourth century BC they are a stock motif in Attic pottery WEDDING scenes.

Euripides, *Orestes* 1426–30; *Iphigenia at Tauris* 1145; Miller (1997: 200–3).

FANCY DRESS Hellenistic monarchs and the Roman elite occasionally held fancy-dress parties: Alexander dressed up as HERAKLES and ARTEMIS, and Augustus organized a secret ‘Dinner of the Twelve Gods’ for which guests dressed as one of the major deities.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 70.1.

FANS Since antiquity, fans have possessed a dual function, as STATUS symbol and useful ornament for keeping cool. Made of a variety of materials, including DECORATIVE artwork, the simplest are leaves or flat objects, usually palm, or palm-shaped ‘screen’ or ‘fixed leaf fans’, waved by hand. These rigid implements were used for cooling, air circulation, to ward off insects, as a ceremonial device, and as a sartorial accessory throughout the ancient world. Some of the earliest fans come from Egyptian tombs: Tutankhamun’s GOLD fans of ostrich FEATHERS match contemporary depictions. Long-handled, disk-shaped fans were associated with regal and

religious ceremonies in ancient Egypt and the near east, carried by attendants: handles or sticks were attached to a rigid leaf, wicker-work, or feathers.

The Classical Greeks regarded fans as an item of PERSIAN decadence – Achaemenid royal art has not yielded even one example of a fan, but this need not mean they were unused by the elite – but nonetheless imported eastern fan designs. Attic POTTERY frequently shows women using feather fans: Greek poets called them ‘sceptres of



Figure 16 VEILED woman: long linen tunic under huge LINEN himation, pulled over the head and lower face: shows how head-veils were manipulated as face-veils. Wicker FAN, soft shoes.

feminine beauty' (Fig. 16). Pictorial evidence shows the ETRUSCANS and Romans using fans as cooling and RITUAL devices. In the HELLENISTIC world, LINEN was stretched over leaf-shaped frames: in Rome, feather fans, vellum fans, wicker fans, and gilded and painted wooden fans were used. Ivory-handled fans have been found as far afield as York. Hand fans were used not only for cooling, but also as convenient communication devices, mainly for more or less furtive love messages. Men did not carry fans but could be aided by FAN-BEARERS.

Claudian, *Eutropius* 1.109; Martial, 3.82.11; Miller (1997: 198–206).

fasciae/fascea, fasciola (L) BANDS of cloth wound round any part of the body, especially the legs. They were particularly associated with women and EFFEMINATE or sickly men. Also used for headbands, babies' SWADDLING bands, and BREASTBANDS.

Quintilian, 11.3.144; Seneca, *Epistles* 80.10; Plautus, *Truculentus* 5.1.905; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.621.

FASHION A sense of 'fashion' in dress existed in antiquity, but developed and changed much more slowly than today. This is an important qualitative distinction – the modern conception of fashion, with its Renaissance roots, prioritizes first access to new information (and the flexibility and disposable income to respond to it) over all other aspects of dress: what is currently fashionable defines that which is elite, sexy, aesthetically pleasing. These were only one facet of dress in the ancient world: changing fashions never entirely subsumed other signifying aspects of dress perhaps, largely, because TEXTILE MANUFACTURE at home remained the norm for many, technical constraints rendered certain materials and techniques inimitable and therefore continually prized, and draped styles required the wearer's skill to maintain them in use. There were no 'fashion designers', but individuals – usually men such as Alcibiades and Julius

Caesar – became fashion leaders or style setters. Meanwhile, women from wealthy families had a wide choice of COLOURS and FABRICS, and great social incentive to compete in this way (Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.229–35; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.169–88).

More generally though, changes in styles developed slowly out of new TRADE links or technological developments: the new fashion for rougher textures documented by Pliny may have been influenced by the clothing of recently conquered BARBARIAN peoples (NH 8.73.193). ARCHAIC Greek men wore elaborately decorated and colourful clothes based on eastern styles, but in the early years of the fifth century BC these eastern modes fell out of favour for a more austere look, encapsulating new democratic sympathies (Thucydides, 1.6). Nevertheless, even in Classical Athens, some men preferred a 'SPARTAN' style of dressing, while others adopted a more 'Persian' look (kandys, Miller 1997). Equally, fashions changed in Rome, dictated by personalities and by increased access to foreign styles and materials. Even the toga, traditional symbol of the Roman people, actually altered in style over the centuries, while long-sleeved tunics for men, EFFEMINATE early in the imperial period, became the norm in the late empire. By LATE ANTIQUITY Roman men, including emperors, were even wearing TROUSERS, once regarded as BARBARIC (Harlow 2005: 143–53).

Individuals could clearly appreciate changing fashions. Sappho notes that PURPLE headbands from Lydia, worn a generation earlier, are no longer à la mode (*Fr.* 98). The concept of fashion, then, is a useful reminder that people did not uncritically submit to rules of STATUS assertion or social symbolism, and that ancient dress was responsive, rather than monolithic. However, while we now speak easily of such responses as 'fashion', this should be tempered by the realization that an essential aspect of our conception – change for change's sake – had not yet developed.

FASTENINGS Some Greek and Roman garments were DRAPED around the body and expected to stay in place without fastenings (**himation**, **toga**), and TUNICS were often CONSTRUCTED not to need fastening, but many garments were fastened. Various **fibulae**, BROOCHES and PINS were widely used for cloaks and **peploi** (Fig. 11) cf. BUTTONS. Hook-and-eye, button-and-loop and toggle fastenings have all been suggested for fastening the **paenula** and some garments illustrated in art (e.g. Etruscan **perizoma**) with unclear fastenings. Ties and laces could also hold garments together, e.g. leather BIKINI-style pants, shoes (e.g. **corrigiae** for **calcei**). BUCKLES were quite widely used in Roman military contexts (see BELTS) less by civilians: sometimes used to hold pieces of ARMOUR together, they never appear on SHOES.

FATES The normative centrality of the art of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE as a metaphor for existence in the ancient world is well illustrated by the three Fates, who were responsible for creating, delimiting and concluding individual human lives. **Klōthō** the 'Spinner' SPUN out the thread of each life; Lachesis measured it, determining its length; Atropos, the 'Cutter', decided and effected the final severing. This conception of the individual life as a single thread, not on its own a 'rich tapestry', ties into the frequent use of WEAVING as a metaphor for political and social life. A thread on its own is rather useless, however fine or strong; but interwoven with others, it becomes a useful textile, if the weaving is skilful.

Catullus, 64.326–27, 372–80; Scheid and Svenbro (1996: 15–34).

FEATHERS Feathers, including ostrich and peacock, were used for FANS and HEAD-DRESSES (Figs 13, 28). Seventh-century ETRUSCAN art shows young men wearing extravagant feather CROWNS which may have been used for war dances, and Lucanian vase-paintings of the fourth

century BC show female dancers in feather crowns. Feathers were used as plumes for helmets – a distinctive part of SAMNITE warriors' dress. They were also worn as trophies by GLADIATORS.

FELT Distinctive fabric produced by mixing, roughing up, and compressing WOOLLEN fibres, rather than separating, aligning and smoothing them to SPIN and WEAVE. This soft fabric can be made very thick, and formed while damp to retain its shape on drying, rather like LEATHER. It was used for HATS, SHOES, and padding for armour. Although felt is absorbent, its dense structure can be both WATERPROOF and warm, and so it was used for winter or travelling CLOAKS (**gausapa**, **kausia**). Due to its structure, any HAIR can be felted, although SHEEP's wool was most common. A Pompeian painting shows felters at work, and several felt workshops survive.

Pliny, *NH* 8.73.192; *coactilia*, *cogere*, *coactiliarii*, *embades*, *empilia*, *impilia* and *petasos*, PHRYGIAN CAP, *pilleus*, *pilos*.

feminalia (L) From *femur* (thigh), short close-fitting knee-length BREECHES, held up by being rolled over a GIRDLE round the waist (see Trajan's column), worn by SOLDIERS on duty in colder climates, the Roman cavalry, or when HUNTING. **Feminalia** might also be worn under the TUNIC by civilians in cold weather, e.g. Augustus, who suffered from the winter cold.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 82.1.

FEMININITY Ideal Greek and Roman femininity was best expressed by quiet deportment: bowed head, eyes fixed on the floor. Women were expected to adopt a closed body posture (e.g. 'Pudicitia' pose), taking up as little space as possible. Feminine movements were supposed to be graceful and elegant. Female hands depicted in Graeco-Roman art are, ideally, shown delicately touching or elevating items of dress, particularly long skirts (**chiton**

podērēs) loose SLEEVES and VEILS – gestures of refinement and feminine sensuality: Sappho criticizes a peasant girl ignorant of the elegant art of raising the FOLDS of her skirt (*Fr.* 67). Many women are shown lifting a portion of a veil, a gesture which no doubt reflects the real-life practice of veiling, but frequently lacks obvious rationale, and appears purely aesthetic or idealized. For the Romans long, loose clothing, wearing fasciae and SILK, and obvious grooming were seen as quintessentially feminine – EFFEMINATE if adopted by men – and ALLURING. Other aspects of feminine dress include highly PATTERNED and BRIGHTLY coloured garments, often caricatured as the dress of PROSTITUTES. However, femininity was not only centred on sexualized dress: the

Greek peplos and Roman stola expressed virtuous femininity. While certain sorts of MAKE-UP were used by both sexes, WHITENING (psymithion) and elaborate adornment (kosmos) were characteristically feminine. Aristophanes lampoons ideas of femininity with the character Agathon in *Women at the Thesmophoria* 136–40.

Wyke (1994: 134–51); Blundell (2002: 143–69); kandys, korē, krokōtos, palla.

ferrugineus (L) A purplish RED colour.

palliolum, Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 4.4.1179.

FIBRES The primary textile fibres of the ancient Mediterranean world from the earliest periods were WOOL and FLAX – by the later Roman period, SILK and COTTON were also relatively widely available.



Figure 17 Mythological scene. Left to right: (1) Apollo, short epiblema, wreath, hair in long locks. (2) Tityos in disarray – bordered himation falls open – BEARDED, fillet in hair. (3) Leto: lifts full-belted pleated peplos to run; stephanē partly covered by short patterned VEIL used to GESTURE. Greek vase-painting, fifth century BC.

However, these main fibres were supplemented by a much wider variety of minor fibre sources, including animal hair (e.g. GOAT, probably horse, and perhaps human, *trichapton*), numerous plants (e.g. HEMP and mallow) and even minerals (ASBESTOS): the main consideration was the capacity to be twisted into thread long and flexible enough to be WOVEN. (KNITTING, and other forms of twisted openwork were also practised, but are not prominent in SOURCES.) Both wool and flax could be produced on a small and basic scale in most areas, although some places were particularly suited to larger-scale production, or produced fibres of especially high quality which were TRADED even when most TEXTILE MANUFACTURE was still on a family scale. These basic fibres had different natural colours: flax from different areas or growing conditions seems to have had a variety of shades, much surpassed by the wide range of wool COLOURS – russet to grey-BLUE, as well as BLACK, GREY, cream and WHITE. Fibres were not, as now, a generally unseen aspect of the origin of fabric, but a commonplace of daily life, both in their original forms – fleeces and plants – and in all stages of processing: FILLETS for RITUAL use could be hanks of fleece, or rollocks of CARDED wool, as well as plain woven bands, or elaborate TABLET-WOVEN ribbons, each having a particular role and significance.

amorgis, *cingulum*, *erion*, GOATS, HAIR, *kannabis*, *lineos*, *metaxa*, PLANT FIBRES, *sakkos*, *sisyra*, *stuppinos*, *trichapton*.

fibula (L) Often used by modern scholars to denote any kind of BROOCH or PIN for an outer garment, more technically by archaeologists for those similar to the modern safety pin. This form had a long history in Italy – from the late Bronze Age onward – and the ETRUSCANS produced some highly ornate forms in GOLD. *Fibulae* were not a major feature of Roman republican and early imperial dress, but appear

to have been re-introduced to the Romans by the Celts, among whom they remained a standard dress item, becoming a feature of dress in BRITAIN, GAUL and GERMANY. The *sagum* of Roman soldiers was fastened by a *fibula*: Pliny notes that military tribunes wore gold *fibulae*. In the later imperial period elaborate *fibulae*, such as the cross-bow type, became a prominent feature of MILITARY dress, and highly ornate *fibulae* evolved as imperial INSIGNIA from the time of Constantine the Great, culminating with Justinian and Theodora (Fig. 8).

NH 33.12.39; Stout (1994: 77–100).

FIGURED TEXTILES Textiles DECORATED with elaborate figured scenes (Figs 11, 26) are seen on Greek POTTERY from the Geometric period and are notable in LITERATURE (e.g. HELEN's famous tapestry, PENELOPE's shroud, ION's ritual tent). However, such evidence is often disregarded as a source for real textiles, even figurative patterns such as animal motifs being viewed as creative imagination – despite recent acknowledgement of the probable influence of textile motifs on Greek decorated pottery, and rare textile evidence from ARCHAEOLOGY, Fig. 33. Such charges cannot be levelled at catalogues of DEDICATED garments: BRAURON lists two *epiblema*-type garments with elaborate, well-described, figurative scenes. Such elaborate decoration would have required heroic amounts of time and skill, and therefore would have been restricted to garments of high VALUE, but it was clearly not impossible. According to Roman tradition, the *toga picta* was decorated with figured scenes: the figure of Vel Sathies in the Etruscan Francois tomb (Vulci, fourth century BC) was dressed in a figured *himation* which seems to belong to the same tradition. No textile of this kind has survived from Rome or Etruria, and it is not certain whether the decoration was painted, WOVEN or EMBROIDERED. Patterned textiles incorporating figures of humans, animals and birds appear on some late imperial

dress in art (Fig. 8): also attested by surviving panels and BANDS from Egypt.

IG II² 1514.33; 1529.19; Barber (1991: 358–65).

filum (L) A thread of anything WOVEN; also used of the FILLET of wool wound round the apex of the galerus, cf. **stemma**, and other fillets used by PRIESTS.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.30; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.445; Livy, 1.32.6.

FILLETS HAIR-BANDS made of plain or DECORATED cloth are found in all ancient societies, worn by men and women with the practical purpose of binding the hair, keeping it in place and preventing it from falling about the face. They also had SYMBOLIC functions, demarcating STATUS or individuality. Greek BRIDES, for example, wore fillets which were untied along with the SASH during the WEDDING. HELLENISTIC and PERSIAN rulers commonly wore a simple white LINEN fillet (**diadem**) to symbolize their authority.

agrēnon, ampyx, anadesmē, filum, infula, kekryphalos, kidaris, tainia, zōstra.

flabellum (L) A FAN.

Martial, 3.82.11.

FLAMEN DIALIS (DRESS OF) A PRIEST of Jupiter in Rome: one of the oldest priesthoods, associated with many RITUAL restrictions and taboos, some involving dress (Fig. 18). He wore the usual costume of the **flamines**, including the characteristic headgear of **galerus** and **apex** (in his case white – **albogalerus**) whenever he was in the open air, was forbidden to wear a knot anywhere on his person, and could only remove his TUNIC when under cover. His **laena** was woven by his wife (**flaminica Dialis**): only he and she could touch it.

Aulus Gellius, 10.15.

flamines (L) This college of PRIESTS in Rome wore distinctive dress – reflecting



Figure 18 Flamen from the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae (13–9 BC), wearing the **laena** and characteristic **galerus** with **apex**.

their archaic origins and prestige: the **laena**, fastened with bronze **fibulae** (*infibulati*); **calcei**, and a tight-fitting cap fastened by straps under the chin (**galerus**) topped by the **apex**. A group is represented on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae (Fig. 18).

flaminica Dialis (L) The **FLAMEN DIALIS**' wife was also constrained by tradition and RITUAL in clothing. She wore the old **tutulus** HAIRSTYLE fashionable in late Archaic ETRURIA – and perhaps Rome – and the **flammeum**, symbolizing that she and her husband were not allowed to divorce.

Festus, 92.

flammeum (L) An important symbolic VEIL worn by a Roman BRIDE. Its actual

colour is much debated, but seems to have been somewhere on the YELLOW-to-RED spectrum: it is described by Pliny as *luteum*, implying yellow, whereas Juvenal suggests a more red colour. The *flammeum* was a large rectangular veil that covered the hair, part of the face and quite a bit of the body of the bride: also worn by the *flaminica Dialis*.

NH 21.22.46, 10.74.148; Juvenal, 6.225; La Follette (1994: 54–64); Tacitus, *Annals* 15.37.

flavus (L) Golden- or reddish-YELLOW, cf. *luteus*, perhaps like *xanthos*.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.592.

FLAX The plant from which LINEN is produced – from fibres in the inner stems – also supplies oil-bearing linseeds, see also PLANT FIBRES. A number of varieties existed, adapted to various regions and growing conditions, some of which were particularly prized (*amorginon*). Flax was grown from an early date in Italy (e.g. ETRURIA) but the finest quality linen was always imported – especially from Egypt – but also Gaul, Spain and Africa. To obtain fibres, the stalks were dried and the tough outer husk softened by RETTING, before being beaten to remove the husks. This process could be long, accomplished by simply exposing the stalks to dew for an extended period – giving more brittle silvery-grey fibres – or relatively short using immersion in water, producing more flexible golden (*flaxen*) fibres. The dried stalks might then be stored, or the outer husks immediately broken, and beaten (*scutched*) to loosen the fragments. The inner fibres were then COMBED (*hackled*, see CARD) to remove the last traces of husk. As well as aligning the fibres for SPINNING, *hackling* separates the shorter, broken, fibres, or tow (*stuppion*) from the longer fibres ideal for spinning, and separates fluffy clumps of tow (which can be spun to a lower grade) from long hanks, sometimes called *stricks*.

These long fibres are actually shorter lengths whose natural end-to-end joint has survived: this gives extra strength once SPUN, and explains why linen becomes more supple with use. A similar process was used to obtain plant fibres from HEMP and mallow or nettle stalks, the results being fairly indistinguishable from linen. Although widely distributed – requiring irrigation in dry conditions – flax from different areas was reputed to possess distinctive characteristics, particularly fineness – for softer, more delicate cloth. Fibres of greater fineness were also obtained by harvesting the plant before it seeded: a trade-off between quality and the bonus of the oil-bearing seeds.

Pliny, NH 19.2.7–15, 3.18; Barber (1991: 13–18).

FLYWHISKS, BEARERS Flywhisks had ancient origins in Egypt and the near east, where they tended to be made from animal HAIR – particularly horses' and bulls' tails. At Persepolis PERSIAN flywhisk-bearers were usually shown in conjunction with an attendant carrying a towel or cloth: they should be regarded as the Great King's body servants, administering to practical needs but also SYMBOLICALLY keeping the ruler's space inviolate. Hair was employed for Greek flywhisks, but branch flywhisks, made from vegetation, were commonly used too. Geometric Period *prothesis* scenes show branch flywhisks used to keep insects away from the corpse, but the earliest attestation of *myiosobes* is in the fourth century BC. Aristophanes, however, makes clear that flywhisks were a familiar sight in Athens: female flywhisk-bearers are found in 'women's scenes' on Attic vases, male at elite symposia. Flywhisks are more difficult to trace among the Romans, but certainly make a re-appearance in LATE ANTIQUITY when they are attested on sarcophagi.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 597; *Knights* 59–60; Miller (1997: 206–9).

focale (L) A SCARF worn to keep the neck warm, and by SOLDIERS to prevent ARMOUR chafing.

Quintilian, 11.3.144; Martial, 14.137[142].

FOLDS Since the CONSTRUCTION of Greek and Roman dress was primarily DRAPED, not tailored, folds were essential to the appearance and experience of wearing garments. Some outer garments were defined by being elaborately draped not FASTENED (e.g. *amictus*, *ampechomai*, *anaballesthai*): the social meanings and SYMBOLISM of the primary Greek and Roman outer garments (*himation*, especially *toga*) were bound up in how their folds were arranged and maintained on the body. In Greek, however, words for specific folds created by the arrangement of dress usually applied to inner garments, either for vertical folds (*isoptyches*, *kataptychēs*, *pteryx*) or the various horizontal flaps and OVERFOLDS created by BELTING (*apoptygma*, *bathykolpos bathystolmos*, *kolpos*, *kolpōma*).

The aesthetically pleasing effect of complex draping is well attested by ancient art, but particularly elaborate folds would seem to have had two essential social meanings. Creating and maintaining them required skill, control and relatively leisurely movement, and they involved large quantities of FABRIC – sometimes double or more the area required simply to fit the body – so asserting STATUS and WEALTH. Garments like the *chitōn orthostadios* or *podērēs*, *helkesichitōn* and *helkesipeplos*, which reached the floor, using extra fabric and restricting movement, were much prized – especially in early periods – as were the *hēmidiplōidion*, and other arrangements with deep or double OVERFOLDS.

As such, these garments, and complex folds in general, were particularly associated with FEMININITY: providing an opportunity to display feminine skill in TEXTILE MANUFACTURE, and reifying ideological concepts of restriction and enclosure in

female life. Men, on the other hand, were most MASCULINE in shorter garments suited to movement and activity, but could wear long and complex garments to express leisure, *gravitas* and status (Fig. 3) as opposed to youth and activity. Such associations seem even more marked in Roman dress, where the *toga* emphasized civilian, as opposed to MILITARY, roles, and the ideal leisured, urbane, status of citizens, as opposed to the TUNICS of the lower classes, see *togati*, *tunicati*. The symbolism and APPROPRIATENESS of draping the *toga* was highly developed and overtly discussed as an aspect of personal presentation in politics and oratory.

Davies (2005: 121–30); Lee (2005: 55–64); Van Wees (2005: 44–54).

FOOTWEAR Literary sources refer to many individual items of footwear, although the exact forms of some are unknown. Greek footwear – conveniently subdivided into SANDALS, SHOES and BOOTS – was generally worn outdoors, but sometimes also at home. In Athens, going BAREFOOT was a mark of poverty or PHILOSOPHICAL asceticism: it was more common in SPARTA – the constitution stipulated that boys in MILITARY camps should go without sandals to toughen their feet – but even there, shoes were the norm. Shoemakers are often mentioned in Greek literature – their craft seems to have been regarded as one of the basic skills of civilized society. LEATHER usually came from cows – DYED RED, BLACK or YELLOW, left its natural colour, or darkened and WATERPROOFED with blacking made from pitch – but the SKINS of calves, SHEEP or GOATS might be used for softer shoes. Soles were several layers of leather, sometimes incorporating cork. Sandals – soles (occasionally wooden) bound to the feet with straps (*sandalion*, *pedilon*) – were the most common type of footwear; many were basic and cheap, others had raised or embossed DECORATION, occasionally tooled in GOLD. BOOTS

that covered the foot, ankle, and all or part of the shin were also popular and sometimes lined with FELT or FUR for extra warmth (*embatai*, *kothornoi*, *lakonikai*). Shoes with an upper enclosing much of the foot were less common (*persikai*, *baukides*, *peribarides*, *blaution*), but the *krepis*, a cross between shoe and sandal, was popular.

All the main footwear types were worn by both men and women, but differences in style meant that shoes could be markers of GENDER identity. Footwear rarely indicates wealth or STATUS – although in Athens it might be used to advertise political sympathies (Demosthenes, *Against Conon*, 54.34). SLAVES sometimes went barefoot, but mostly wore the same cheap shoes as peasant farmers (Aristophanes, *Knights*, 319–21). SYMBOLICALLY, footwear was linked most obviously with travel: winged sandals or boots were DIVINE ATTRIBUTES of Hermes and heroes like Perseus. In real life, outdoor shoes would have been replaced with lighter footwear at home, and removed altogether when dining or sacrificing; donning or removing footwear became associated with the crossing of boundaries – especially between public and private or secular and sacred spheres – and also with major transitions. BRIDES were fitted with new sandals before entering their marital homes, and, in the sixth century BC, terracotta vases in the shape of sandaled feet or booted legs were placed in tombs. The MYTHOLOGICAL motif of wearing only one sandal seems to take its root meaning from religious RITUAL, and may signify a young man's INITIATION, when he has one foot still in contact with the earth, and one in the realm of human culture (Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 4.75–77, 96; Thucydides, 3.22). Shoes could also have strong EROTIC connotations: APHRODITE is posed unlacing her sandal in numerous statuettes from the fourth century BC on.

In the Roman world a variety of different kinds of footwear were worn for different

purposes and in different contexts: SANDALS (*sandalia*, *crepidae*) or soft slippers for indoors (*socci*, *soleae*, seen as FEMININE and EFFEMINATE for men); enclosed shoes and ankle boots (*perones* and *calcei* for civilians; *caligae* for soldiers) and clogs or pattens (*sculponeae*). Several different styles of SHOE can be recognized in artistic representations and are preserved in extant remains (Figs 4, 5).

Plato, *Symposium* 174A, 203D; *Republic* 369D; Xenophon, *Spartan Constitution* 2.3, *Cyropaedia* 8.2.5; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 253–68, *Assemblywomen* 74–5, 319, 345, 508; *Price Edict of Diocletian* 9; Bryant (1899: 57–102); Edmunds (1984: 71–75); Morrow (1985); Goldman (1994: 101–29).

forma (L) A SHOE-maker's last.

Horace, *Satires* 2.3.106.

FREEDMEN/WOMEN Roman freed SLAVES – male and female – wore a characteristic cap (*pilleus*) symbolizing their freedom, but only at the time of their emancipation – e.g. the funeral if they had been set free under the will – not routinely thereafter. Otherwise their dress was indistinguishable from other citizens', and many freedmen were represented on their funerary monuments proudly wearing the *toga*.

FRINGES Although not characteristic of Greek or Roman dress – as opposed to PERSIAN – these common textile decorations are natural by-products of the WEAVING process (*exastis*, *kraspedon*, *limbus*, Fig. 13). Other terms refer to multiple TASSELS (*thysanos*). Some garments (e.g. *thysantōtos*, *chitōn termioeis*) were defined by their fringes, while the *kalasiris* was a characteristically fringed foreign garment. Fringes were sometimes used to decorate Roman garments, but were perhaps considered EFFEMINATE (cf. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.3). A mantle with knotted fringe was

part of the costume of ISIS and her female worshippers, and fringes appear on the RITUAL dress of some ETRUSCAN priests.

FULLING The processes of CLEANING clothes, finishing new cloth and MAINTAINING or reconditioning old clothes (cf. re-DYEING) were well-organized in the ancient world, especially in the Roman period: all were done in the same establishment (**fullonica**), by fullers (**fullones**). Remains of several have been recognized at Pompeii, and some representations of fullers at work are extant (Pompeian paintings, tomb reliefs from Sens) or found in LITERARY sources. Newly-WOVEN cloth needed to be cleaned – to remove grease from WOOL – shrunk, softened and BLEACHED – if not dyed – and surface-finished: it was washed and trodden in water troughs, using a variety of chemical detergents (urine, fuller's earth, *creta fullonica*). BLEACHING might involve placing damp cloth over a frame above burning sulphur. Finishing involved brushing the surface (CARDING with teasels) to raise the NAP, shearing and pressing (*ipos*), but there is no evidence for ironing. Similar processes are (less well) attested for the Greek world, where, despite the generally less 'industrialized' practices of pre-HELLENISTIC periods, fulling, like dyeing, tended to be a specialist activity – both requiring access to relatively large spaces and quantities of water, using materials obtained through TRADE, and creating unpleasant smells.

Pliny, *NH* 35.57.196–8, 50.175; *candido*, *erioplytes*, *gnapheion*, *gnapsis*, *knapheutike* etc., *toga candida*.

fullonia; fullones; fullonica (L) **FULLING**; fullers; their workshops.

Plautus, *Comedy of Asses* 5.2.907; Martial, 6.93.1.

FUNERARY DRESS, ROMAN Roman funerals, especially of important men, were occasions of great display in which dress naturally played a part. Polybius (6.53)

describes aristocratic funerals of the mid-second century BC where ACTORS or members of the family impersonated the deceased's ancestors, each wearing the magisterial robes to which that ancestor was entitled, both in the funerary procession and on the rostra in the forum. This highlighted the glorious history of the family using the STATUS-laden symbolism of Roman formal dress. In contrast, attendees wore the dark, MOURNING, *toga pulla*. Funeral dress was clearly distinguished from the everyday: women did not VEIL, the person conducting the funeral wore a *praetexta pulla*, and at Augustus's funeral the leading EQUITES went BAREFOOT, in UNBELTED tunics.

Juvenal, 10.245; Festus, 236; Suetonius, *Augustus* 100.4.

FUR In the modern world, epitomized by soft furs like mink, a LUXURY item. Greeks and Romans used a wide variety of hair-bearing hides TANNED to retain their hair, both 'furry' (wolf, bear, fox, rabbit, skins of big cats) and 'hairier' like SHEEPSKIN (*katōnakē*) but also GOAT (*aigis*), dog (*kyneē*) or deer (*nebris*) SKINS (see *Price Edict of Diocletian* 8). Like LEATHER, all are eminently useful and durable, but in the Greek and Roman world were often associated with BARBARIANS (see *kandys*) or poverty and rural life – worn by labourers, HUNTERS. SKINS were contrasted with the civilized art of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE. Nevertheless, TRADE in soft furs has an ancient history: Phoenicians and Assyrians certainly traded in exotic furs from Asia and Africa; Mycenaean Greeks used entire pelts as CLOAKS, and furs are recorded in the *Iliad* as gifts. The Romans used animal pelts as practical clothing and bedding: first century AD inscriptions refer to a *Corpus Pellionum*, a 'Corporation of Fur Manufacturers'. Although they, too, often associated them with uncouth barbarians, some Romans did appreciate fine furs for their aesthetic beauty. Despite the decree of Emperor

Honorius in AD 397, forbidding his courtiers to wear furs, the use of fur became prevalent, not only against the cold, but for personal adornment. Standard-bearers in the Roman army were marked out from other SOLDIERS by wearing animal skins on their heads: legionary standard-bearers may have used skins with the animal's head still attached. The eagle standard was carried by a special standard-bearer who wore a lion-skin HEADDRESS. These furs are perhaps

SYMBOLIC totems, intended to imbue the wearer with the stealth and strength of the animal.

Tacitus, *Annals* 2.13, *Histories* 2.88; Simkins (1998); *paenula*, *dermatophoreō*, *embades*.

fusus (L) A SPINDLE, DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of the FATES.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.221, 229; Virgil, *Georgics* 4.348, *Eclogues* 4.46.

G

galbinus (L) A yellowish GREEN colour.
tunica, Juvenal, 2.97; Martial, 1.96.9.

galerus (L) A HELMET-like LEATHER cap, worn by – among others – the **flamines**: close-fitting, covering most of the hair, leaving the ears uncovered, fastened under the chin (Fig. 18). Those of high-ranking priests were topped by an **apex** – lower ranks had a simple knob – and that of the **flamen Dialis** was WHITE (**albogalerus**). The shoulder-guards worn by **retiarius** GLADIATORS were also called **galerus**, while the **galericulum** was a cap worn by youths to protect their hair when exercising (Martial, 14.50).

Aulus Gellius, 10.15.32; Juvenal, 8.208; Statius, *Thebaid* 1.305 (worn by Atlas).

GALLI PRIESTS of Cybele (the Great Mother), traditionally eunuchs, wore an exotic costume defying all the norms of Roman male dress: a long SLEEVED, YELLOW or multi-COLOURED long garment, a **mitra** HEADDRESS, with various ornaments attached and JEWELLERY (pendants, earrings, rings). Their HAIR was long and carefully dressed, except on days of mourning for Attis, when it was dishevelled.

GALLIC DRESS Both LITERARY and ARCHAEOLOGICAL evidence suggest that men in the Gallic PROVINCES – including BRITAIN –

typically wore long TROUSERS, a long-sleeved TUNIC, and a CLOAK fastened by a **fibula** before the Roman conquest, but not afterwards. Most of the evidence, however, comes from tombstones commissioned by the wealthier and more urbanized population – with some extant clothing remains from graves – and the old costume may well still have been worn by lower status individuals, and in remote and rural places. Certainly, the population of the Gallic provinces did not generally adopt Roman or Italian dress. A few men – either veterans or high-ranking officials wishing to emphasize their affiliation with Rome – are represented in art wearing the **toga**. Women are even less likely to be seen in Roman styles.

Instead most people seem to have worn a distinctive form of dress which was neither pre-Roman nor Roman (Fig. 19): men wore a wide tunic, the ‘Gallic coat’, with a long CAPE, scarf and UNDERGARMENT. The Gallic coat was usually knee-length and UNBELTED; it could be sleeveless, but often had SLEEVES to the wrist, and is sometimes represented FRINGED. The hole for the neck was a hemmed slit. This basic garment appears to have been worn by all levels of society and all ages (e.g. schoolboys). The cape was a male garment only, covering both shoulders and often SEWN up most of the front; it usually fell to below the knees,

and had an attached HOOD which hung flat on the back when not in use (bindweed leaf-shaped: Pliny, *NH* 24.88.138). A similar shorter cape of LEATHER rather than cloth can also be seen on those engaged in more active jobs – HUNTSMEN or agricultural workers (Fig. 9). *Paenula*, *casula*, *cucullus* and *bardocucullus* are all possible names.

The earliest illustration of post-conquest Gallic women's costume is also Fig. 19: a close-fitting long-sleeved undergarment, presumably of LINEN or fine wool, under a tubular tunic, belted at the waist, which is held together on the shoulders by matching *fibulae*, and to the undergarment by a third. Over this is a rectangular cloak pinned on the right shoulder. She may have

had a bonnet on her head and has a large *torque*. Such dress remained in vogue until well into the second century AD, but women are later shown wearing a version of the Gallic coat: ankle length, worn with a cloak not a cape. Sometimes an undergarment is visible at the neck and hem and the ensemble is finished off with a scarf round the neck, bonnet or HAIRNET – similar clothing, including shaped leggings with separately made feet, probably held up by knee garters, was found in tomb D at Les Martres-de-Veyre Gallia Lugdunensis (second- or third-century AD). Gaul was well known for its textile industry – exporting wool and linen: various Roman garments (*birrus*, *caracalla* *sagum*) were thought of as being 'Gallic'.



Figure 19 Grave monument of Blussus and Menimane from Mainz-Weisenau: he wears a GALLIC coat; she under- and over-TUNICS fastened with *fibulae*, and a CLOAK.

Polybius, 2.28.7, 2.30.1; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.659–61; Strabo, 4.4.3; Isidore, *Origins* 19.24.13; Wild (1968; 1985); Croom (2000: 133–9).

gallicae/gallici (L) ‘Gallic’ SHOES, first used in this sense shortly before Cicero’s day, who contrasts his own Roman dress (*calcei, toga*) with Antony wearing *gallici* and a *lacerna* (*Philippic* 2.30.76). This suggests that *gallici* were only considered suitable for informal wear, so possibly a kind of SANDAL like Greek *trochadia*. Several types are recorded: *biriles* for men, *rusticanae* for farm labourers and *cursoriae* for ATHLETES.

Aulus Gellius, 13.22.6; *Price Edict of Diocletian* 9.12–13.

gausapa (L) Cloth suitable for making warm WATERPROOF garments – especially CLOAKS, sometimes TUNICS with the broad STRIPE, i.e. senators’, from the early first century AD: perhaps FELT, or WOVEN with a long shaggy NAP.

Pliny, *NH* 8.73.193; Martial, 14.145; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.11.

GEMS, GEM STONES Greeks and Romans used precious stones for JEWELLERY: emeralds, garnets, sapphires, amethysts and topazes were all popular, and could be imitated by glass.

GENDER DISTINCTIONS Gender distinction was not as obvious in Greek and Roman clothing as in medieval and modern. Trousers, for example, were characteristic of BARBARIANS, not MASCULINITY. Most basic garment types were relatively unisex: tunics and cloaks were worn by both sexes and all ages. Some garments however were gender-specific, such as the *exomis*, suitable for heavy physical work, and so worn by men, or the *stola*, worn only by Roman *matrons*, and clothing considered suitable for one sex might have very different connotations if worn by the other (*toga muliebris*). Although clothing might be designated ‘men’s’ or ‘women’s’,

gender distinctions in Greek and Roman dress were less dependent on garment type and shape than more subtle factors such as FABRIC, COLOUR and PATTERN, and on garment combinations, as well as FOOTWEAR, JEWELLERY and HAIRSTYLES. These factors meant that CROSS-DRESSING and concepts of masculinity and FEMININITY in dress were negotiated in complex ways.

Cleland (forthcoming a); Davies (2005: 121–30).

gerdia/gerdios, gerdiaina/gerdius (G and L) A female/male WEAVER.

Price Edict of Diocletian 20.12; *Tebtunis Papyrus* 116.48 (second century BC); *BGU 617.4/Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 39.8 (first century AD).

gerdiakos, gerdiakon (G) WEAVING, tax on WEAVING.

Papyrus Grenfell 2.59.10; *histos Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 646; 288.2.

GERMANIC DRESS Roman writers portrayed the ‘Germani’ wearing remarkably little, considering the climate: at most a cloak (*sagum*) fastened by a *fibula* or thorn. Such descriptions of BARBARIANS are not necessarily accurate: archaeological remains (e.g. from Thorsberg in Denmark) and representations of Germanic tribespeople in Roman art suggest they also wore TROUSERS and TUNICS. Dress in the Roman provinces of Germania probably resembled GALLIC dress: Fig. 19, usually cited as an illustration of Gallic dress, comes from Mainz in Germania, and, as with the Gallic provinces, much of our knowledge derives from tomb reliefs and votive monuments. Many of these images, however, represent goddesses, whose costumes may not have been routinely worn by ordinary women. Even mortal women shown may have been PRIESTESSES, or costumed for special occasions.

Most distinctive is the large HAT of the women of the Ubii, around Bonn – its most exaggerated form is on the altars of the Aufanian Mothers – surrounding the head in

a huge circle, possibly an exaggeration of the simple cap worn over plaited hair wound round the head by the women of the Treveri. They also wear a large CLOAK – probably semi-circular, pulled forward over both shoulders and fastened on the breast or just above the waist by a large fibula – over a simple tunic. The costume of Nehalennia – a goddess worshipped in the Rhine delta at Domburg and Colijnsplaat – includes a distinctive shoulder CAPE, possibly LEATHER, fastened by a brooch.

Tacitus, *Germania* 6, 17; Wild (1968, 1985: 360–422); Croom (2000: 133–9).

GESTURES Gesturing with clothes was vital to non-verbal communication in the ancient world and had multivalent ‘readings’. Putting on or throwing off elements of clothing, lifting and hiding behind garments are all commonly found, indicating a wide range of emotions (Figs 10, 12, 17). As a gesture of modesty, young men in Greece were supposed to keep their hands inside their garments, highlighting youthfulness and inexperience, since hands were considered organs of action only to be used by mature males – the *toga* operated on the same principle. In public, women should not have active hands either, as is frequently stressed in art, where women’s hands are either held close to the body beneath their garments, or are engaged with VEILING the face or covering the mouth. The elevation of veils, loose SLEEVES or skirts was seen as elegant and FEMININE. By raising or lowering her veil a woman could indicate a wide array of emotions including shame, modesty, playfulness and bashfulness, assert STATUS, or indicate an overt sexuality. The casting off of garments, in particular head veils, signified distress or grief in women. Conversely, men would cover their heads to signify grief, shame – or, in Rome, piety. The ripping or tearing of garments indicated great anxiety in both sexes.

Cairns (2002); Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

GIRDLES This slightly archaic English term is often used in scholarship to distinguish the belts common in ancient and medieval female dress from belts ‘proper’ – with MASCULINE, ATHLETIC and MILITARY connotations. Thus, girdle often denotes a soft belt tied in a knot rather than a leather belt fastened by a BUCKLE: such belts were widely used, especially by Greek and Roman women. It is possible that this distinction goes back to the elaborate symbolism of later Roman military and civilian male belts, but this is anachronistic for most of our period. Girdle is occasionally used here to specify a tied fabric belt, but otherwise, BELT is used with whatever modifiers seem relevant. Specific terms, e.g. *nodus Herculeanus*, give GENDER DISTINCTIONS.

GLADIATORS In the Roman empire, gladiatorial shows were highly organized and designed to provide an impressive spectacle for the audience, with various categories of fighter distinguished by COSTUME and equipment (Fig. 20). Gladiators are represented in a wide range of media: sculpted and painted funerary monuments, figurines, mosaic floors, decoration of everyday objects (such as lamps and vases) and graffiti. These show many realistic details, giving a good idea of the dress and equipment of each specific type of gladiator. Some changes can be traced, along with deviations from apparently normal practice. Remains of metal equipment exist, most notably from the gladiators’ barracks at Pompeii where fifteen bronze HELMETS – 11 highly decorated – six short, one medium-sized and three long pairs of GREAVES, and three shoulder guards were found. (The highly-decorated helmets may have only been used in the parade at the beginning of the games, although they seem strong enough to be worn in combat.) There are various references to emperors giving fancy – silver or GOLD – armour to favoured gladiators.

Illustrations of the earliest gladiatorial fights – fourth-century BC south Italian tomb-paintings – suggest the dress and equipment of gladiators – who fought in funeral games – was then barely differentiated from that of contemporary SOLDIERS: NUDE or wearing TUNICS or LOINCLOTHS, they have elaborate helmets with crests and plumes. By the late republic gladiators are usually shown wearing a loincloth, BELT and visor-less helmet – some wear greaves or body ARMOUR – sometimes with a GLOVE on their right hand and lower arm. By the imperial period the standard clothing was the triangular loincloth (*subligaculum*); two corners were tied round the waist at

the front and the third brought up between the legs and over the knot to hang at the front, worn with a broad belt. However, the various representations of gladiators show loincloths draped in a variety of more elaborate ways, and decorated – with COLOURS, BEADS, FRINGES etc. Only the *eques* routinely wore a tunic. Gladiators do not appear to have worn any kind of SHOES, but their feet and lower legs could be protected by gaiters, and they might wear some padded protection, probably of LINEN, held in place by thongs on their legs and arms, part of an elaborate range of protective clothing designed to ensure that the gladiator was not despatched or disabled too quickly, while

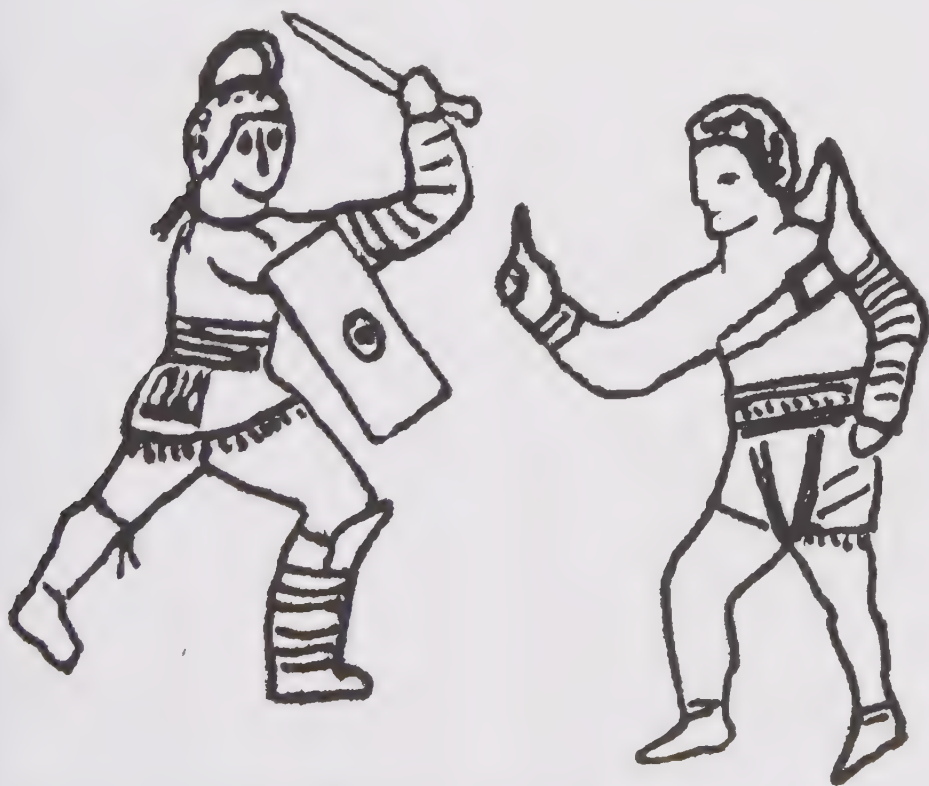


Figure 20 Two GLADIATORS (left, *secutor*, right *retiarius*) from a Colchester ware vase in the Castle Museum, Colchester. Both wear decorated LOINCLOTHS; *retiarius* has a *manica* on one arm; *secutor* a closed HELMET and padding on one leg.

leaving enough of the body unprotected to provide a good chance of wounding.

Most gladiators wore helmets – except the *retarius* – covering the whole head: imperial helmets also protected the face with a grilled visor, increasing the anonymous and menacing appearance. Helmets varied according to the type of gladiator and were highly decorated, with relief and impressive crests and plumes: the most extreme, worn by the *secutor*, was very thick and smooth, had only two small circular eyeholes and no decoration – because the *secutor* fought against the *retarius*' net and trident. Only the *provocator* regularly wore body armour – *kardiophylax*, and one short greave, on his left leg – but the right arms of various types – including the *Thrax* and *myrmillo* – and the left arm of the *retarius* were protected by the *manica*: originally little more than a glove, like a BOXING glove, in the second century AD a type made of metal plates was developed to cover the whole arm. The *retarius* supplemented this with an elaborate shoulder guard (the *galerus* or *spongia*): three examples from Pompeii are all elaborately decorated. Some gladiatorial types also wore metal greaves (*ocreae*) in different lengths, worn over padding on one or both legs.

The popular *Thrax* wore the usual loin-cloth and belt with padded leg wrappings – *fasciae*, sometimes all the way up the thighs – or long trousers, long greaves, and further padding or a *manica* on his right arm only. His torso was bare and his elaborate visored helmet with plumes and tall crest was typically decorated with a griffin. The dress of the *hoplomachos* was similar, as was the *myrmillo* – except for a short greave on the left leg only, and a differently shaped helmet crest. The *provocator*'s helmet had no crest, but was decorated with FEATHERS. The *retarius* wore no helmet or greaves – though sometimes cloth *fasciae* on the lower legs – but had a padded *manica* on his left arm, with a shoulder guard. The *equus*, who started his combat on horseback and only fought other *equites*, wore a loose sleeveless tunic

with a belt, a *manica* on his right arm and a helmet: lower legs might be protected with gaiters or *fasciae*, but not greaves.

Köhne and Ewigleben (2000).

glaukeous, glaukinos (G) Probably, in textiles, BLUE-GREY (cf. *isatis* as a colour term in literature). Possibly refers to a natural COLOUR of WOOL, but a number of blue shades were available through DYEING, for which the related verb *glaukō* is used.

Plutarch, 2.821e, 565c; IG II² 1518B.52, 70; Papyrus Holmiensis 19.28, 26.30.

GLOVES Gloves have a very ancient origin; a LINEN pair were discovered in the tomb of King Tutankhamun, c. 1400 BC. The earliest description of gloves in the Greek world is Homeric: Laertes wears gloves to protect his hands from thorns in his garden – some translations insist he pulls his long SLEEVES over his hands. Xenophon gives a clear and distinct account in his description of PERSIAN manners and dress: not satisfied with covering their heads and feet, they also guard their hands against the cold with thick gloves, proof of their EFFEMINACY. Romans wore gloves, noting that olives gathered with bare hands were preferable. ATHLETES wore soft WOOL gloves.

Odyssey 24.230; *Cyropaedia* 8.17; Pausanias, 6.23.

gnaphallion (G) COTTON.

Pliny, *NH* 27.61.88.

gnapsis (G) FULLING cloth.

Plato, *Politics* 282e.

GOATS Probably second only to SHEEP in the ancient world: goats thrive even where sheep cannot, and are a less intensive and risky agricultural investment than cows, which seem to have been a relative rarity. However, Greek sources in particular tend to note the use of goat products specifically,

especially in RITUAL and MYTH, see AEGIS, **aigis**, CLOTHING REGULATIONS. This is possibly explained by goats' relatively liminal position between farmed and hunted animals, they are treated as distinct categories for sacrifice at least, and probably also in wider culture.

SKINS, FUR, **chitōn chortaios**, **cilicium**, COUNTRY DRESS, DIVINE ATTRIBUTE, FIBRES, FOOTWEAR, **Juno Sospita**, **luperci**, **nakē**, **nudus**, PRIESTS, **sakkos**, **sisyra**, **sisyrna**, SOCKS.

GOLD The primary precious metal of antiquity, a universal sign of WEALTH and STATUS, and an important aspect of JEWELLERY, often in combination with gems, semi-precious stones or pearls (**bullā**, **corona muralis**, **diadēma**, **stephanē**, **torque**, WREATHS, CROWNS). As such, it was a common target of CLOTHING REGULATIONS and dedication in TEMPLE TREASURIES. Gold might be directly incorporated in Greek and Roman FABRIC and dress, using METALLIC THREAD (**attalicus**, **chrysoparyphos**, **limbus**, **patagium**) or applied as metal decorations (**epichrusa**, **epitektos**, **pasmatia**). Such threads could be WOVEN into the cloth or EMBROIDERED onto it: remains of cloth from early ETRUSCAN tombs suggest gold was already being SEWN on – like sequins – as discs or other designs in the seventh century BC. Some of its VALUE also seems to have been transferred to its COLOUR (**auratus**, **aureus**, **chrysoeides**, **flavus**, **luteus** and **kalumma**).

Many Roman emperors and empresses are credited with wearing garments incorporating gold. Cloth decorated with complex patterns in gold became especially popular in the late empire: the robes worn by Honorius when he became consul in AD 398 had pictures traced in precious metals: see Justinian and Theodora, Fig. 8. Gold was also used to decorate FOOTWEAR, especially SANDALS – probably mostly in the form of gold leaf. Shoes sewn with gold thread have been found in London.

Gold was used as a symbol of wealth and status: Trimalchio, the fictional nouveau-riche freedman millionaire, is satirized as having an armlet that weighed ten pounds and boasting that his wife's jewellery – armlets, anklets and a hairnet – weighed six and a half pounds (Petronius, 67). The right to wear gold in the form of a **bullā** or RING was traditionally – and in theory at least – limited to the upper levels of society, and gold was from time to time the subject of SUMPTUARY LEGISLATION. As early as the *Twelve Tables*, legal restrictions were placed on how much could be buried with the dead, and in 215 BC, the *Lex Oppia* limited the amount of gold a Roman woman could wear on her person to half an ounce. Such rules were inevitably transgressed, but the wearing of gold, especially by men, continued to be seen as rather decadent and un-Roman: early emperors wearing garments of gold are usually described with at least a hint of criticism. Gradually, however, wearing gold in various forms came to be expected of emperors and high officials, and it played an important part in late imperial dress.

Suetonius, *Nero* 50; SHA *Pertinax* 8.2; *CIL* 14. 2215; BROCADE, **kolpōma**.

GRAIN, THE The surface of LEATHER or hide, or the weave of cloth, which dictates how it will DRAPE. Although the lack of surviving textiles from the Greek and Roman worlds leaves us little direct evidence, terms like **holosericus** and **carbasinus** (unmixed SILK, mixed LINEN and COTTON) indicate that weavers did mix FIBRES, perhaps in part to alter the drape of the resulting garments. Draping characteristics could also be altered by different types of WEAVE, by variation in thickness between WARP and WEFT, and by varying the direction (see S-TWIST) of the fibres within threads.

GREAVES Protection for the shins worn by SOLDIERS and GLADIATORS (**ocreae**) usually

made of metal – especially bronze – fastened round the calf with straps (Figs 2, 3). Regularly worn by SAMNITE warriors, but not usually by Roman soldiers below the rank of CENTURION.

GREEK DRESS (ROMAN ATTITUDES TO) The Romans perceived an important social distinction between their own dress (**toga** and **calcei**) and that of the Greeks (**himation** or **pallium** with **SANDALS**): although Romans could – and often did – wear ‘Greek’ dress there was a decided etiquette about when and where it was APPROPRIATE, especially in the late republican and early imperial period. Greek dress was associated with leisure and intellectual or PHILOSOPHICAL pursuits – not to be worn when conducting official business. Greek dress in the wrong context was used by politicians to defame their opponents, evidence of their bad character and loose morals (e.g. Cicero on Verres and Mark Antony, Heskell 1994: 133–45). Writers also used Greek costume in their portrayal of emperors: Suetonius describes how Tiberius put aside Roman dress for more casual Greek dress in exile on Rhodes as a sign of his dereliction of duty. These attitudes relaxed later, and the same kind of strictures did not apply to women.

Tiberius 13.1.

GREEN There are few SYMBOLIC instances of green clothing – although **prasinus** was the colour of a Roman CIRCUS FACTION. Even the **batrachis** was not definitely green – although **batrachis** appears to be a colour term where used for other garments, and for

malachite. Nevertheless, green clothing is depicted on white-ground POTTERY and Pompeian wall-paintings, and is easily achieved with a number of plant DYES. Suffice to say that, unless the green was BRIGHT enough to be attractive on this basis alone, green was not a particularly significant colour of ancient clothing.

GREY Grey clothing often seems to share the social meanings of BLACK or DIRTY dress, especially in MOURNING: required for female mourning by one funerary CLOTHING REGULATION (Ogden 2002: 216). Other notable occurrences relate to HAIR, where it is indicative and SYMBOLIC of age and often wisdom. In clothing, grey is a paradigmatically DULL colour, and as such does not have the significance imputed to the rarer BRIGHT shades: it should probably also be understood as an aged colour of originally WHITE textiles, see MAINTENANCE.

gymnos (G) Naked, NUDE, without clothes: also suggests a state of negligent dress, wearing only a TUNIC for example, or lacking full ARMOUR. It should not always be read simply as ‘naked’.

Odyssey 6.136; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 498; Thucydides, 3.23.

gynaecium (L) The *gynaieion*, women’s space in inner part of the house, especially the emperor’s household, where women SPUN and wove imperial garments.

Plautus, *Mostellaria* 3.2.759; Cicero, *Philippic* 2.37.95; *Code of Justinian* 9.27.5; 11.8.2.

H

HAIR Natural hair is often ‘tamed’ and ‘cultured’ with particular cuts and styles. The ancient **EGYPTIANS** frequently supplemented their own hair with additional plaited-in locks, or shaved their heads and wore expensive **WIGS**: hair styling and display denoted high **STATUS**, and **SYMBOLIZED** strength and **EROTICISM**. Men in Assyria, Babylon and **PERSIA** grew their hair long and thick, coiffured into curls and set with expensive **PERFUMED** oils. In Greece men were reluctant to ‘tame’ their hair, which represented virile and generative manhood: women too might wear their hair loose as a mark of fertility and sexual display. Goddesses are *eukomos* (‘rich-’ or ‘fair-haired’ – most frequently **HELEN**, who represents **FEMININE** sexuality). However, threatening females are also often depicted with loose hair, flying free of the constraints of a **VEIL**: the flowing hair of **MAENADS**, or of low-class **PROSTITUTES** is symbolic of their marginal status. In general, Roman men did ‘tame’ their hair, keeping it shaved or short, although baldness was not admired. In literary tradition, baldness is closely associated with the stereotype of the ‘bad emperor’. Greek and Roman women displayed social status through their **HAIR-STATES**. The symbolism of hair is clear in the coiffures of **BRIDES**, Greek *ephebes* offering a lock to the gods upon entering maturity, and boys’ long ‘Horus locks’

dedicated to **Isis**: it had an important role in rituals of transformation.

Sherrow (2005); *anadema*, *anadesmē*, *argenteus*, *bathykomēs*, *botronatus*, *candida*, *desma komas*, *kekryphalos*, *reticulum*, *thrix*, *trichapton*, *xanthos*.

HAIR COVERINGS AND ACCESSORIES Humans have covered their hair from the earliest civilizations. While anthropologists once thought this simply offered protection from the elements, it is now commonly accepted that hair coverings developed as **STATUS** symbols – the onlooker’s attention being always drawn first to the face – and later acquired connotations of age, modesty and social role, as they became everyday wear. Various forms of **JEWELLERY** adorned the **HAIR** from earliest times, including hair spirals – e.g. from early **ETRUSCAN** tombs – decorations attached to **HAIRNETS**, **diadems** and **HEADRESSES** of various kinds. Many **HAIRPINS** were highly decorated.

See also **HATS**, **VEIL**.

HAIRNETS A common method of managing and styling the hair in the ancient world, used in most periods, but not appropriate for all fashionable **HAIRSTYLES**. Greek women used nets (*kekryphalos*) cloths (*sakkos*) and wide bands or **FILLETS**. Some Pompeian paintings show women wearing

GOLD hairnets, some have survived in Roman tombs. The local costumes of provincial women sometimes included hairnets: worn in the GALLIC and GERMANIC provinces (Wild 1985: 394–5), two were also found in the Cave of Letters in Roman Palestine. Roman BRIDES traditionally wore special hairnets (*reticulum*) to bed the night before the wedding: specially woven, they were the same colour (*luteum*) as the VEIL, and were DEDICATED before the wedding. SPRANG was often used for hairnets.

Petronius, 67.

HAIRPINS Used to keep women's hair in place when piled up on the head or worn in a bun, hairpins were usually straight, pointed at one end, decorated at the other. They come in various sizes – some several inches long – and are usually made of bone or metal – GOLD, silver or copper alloy – sometimes tortoiseshell, jet or glass. The heads were variously decorated, from simple cones or spheres, to human figures or busts – often female. Not usually visible on sculpted portraits, they appear more commonly in painting (e.g. mummy portraits). The many surviving examples suggest they were designed to be seen.

Swift (2003: 38–41).

HAIRSTYLES While fashionable dress tended to change very slowly in Egypt, Greece and Rome, hairstyles altered at a much quicker pace. Individuals were clearly able to 'read', and relatively easily adopt, nuanced changes in hairdressing. Ancient art and literature record many of these changes, and archaeology can help us retrace the details of fashionable hairdressing through portraits and finds of WIGS, artificial braids, HAIRPINS, and combs. It is possible to reconstruct a very precise chronology of hairstyles during antiquity.

Hairstyles were used to denote STATUS, age and ethnicity: high social standing increased the attention given to HAIR and fashionable changes were of particular

interest to status-conscious women. In Classical Athens women spent much time crimping and curling their hair and entwining it in braids and FILLETS, although it was covered by a VEIL outdoors. Various different male and female hairstyles can be traced in the ETRUSCAN artistic record. In the seventh and the sixth centuries BC men wore their hair long – mature men usually had BEARDS – while women braided theirs into a long plait hanging down the back. In the later sixth century both sexes arranged their hair in long corkscrew curls which hung on the shoulders (Fig. 15) and women might rather (in the sixth and early fifth centuries BC) wear the distinctive *tutulus* hairstyle, in which the hair was piled up onto the top of the head into a cone-shaped bun: this traditional hairstyle had locks of hair brought up onto the crown of the head and bound with *vittae*. After 500 BC both sexes are represented with hair cut short, and beards go out of fashion for men. Thereafter women created a variety of hairstyles: hair might be simply brushed back from the face, or worn up under a *sakkos* or SNOOD, usually with a *diadem* (*stephane*) or headband.

The artistic record for early Roman hairstyles is not as rich, but they probably underwent similar developments. In the early first century AD the Julio-Claudian family, established by Augustus, set the male style: fairly straight short hair with a slight wave, brushed forward over the forehead into a fringe; by the mid-second century men sport a typically Antonine mop of curly hair, and in the mid-third century wear the close-cropped hair popular with the military emperors. BEARDS too go in and out of fashion: in the late republic and first century AD nearly all men appear clean-shaven, but beards come in again with Hadrian, for most men by the mid-second century. Hair and beard styles also expressed a man's interests and affiliations: worn longer by those who saw themselves as intellectuals (cf. PHILOSOPHERS) or in fashionable styles such as the stepped

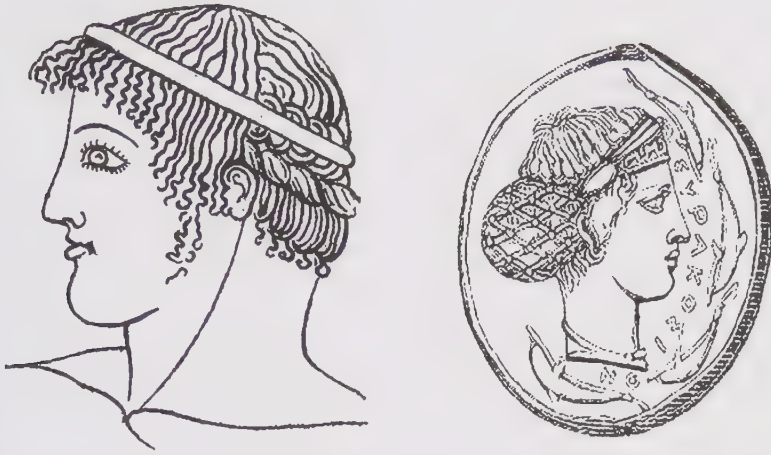


Figure 21 Heads of ephebe, woman. Left: Ephebe with long HAIRSTYLE – twist, plaits, kiss-curls at back and nape – secured by fillet. Right: Woman with kekryphalos – hairnet keeping chignon in place – and stephanē.

waves across the forehead worn by Nero and Domitian. Roman men were sensitive about hair loss: Julius Caesar tried to hide his receding hairline by brushing his hair forward and wearing a laurel WREATH – his well-known baldness does not appear in most surviving portraits. Otho wore a wig, noticeable in his coin-portraits, but Vespasian's portraits seem less sensitive about his lack of hair.

Women's hairstyles were much more affected by FASHION: often established – and frequently changed – by the women of the imperial court, followed not only in Rome, but also by women of the PROVINCIAL elites. Changes were so frequent, fashions so time-limited, that they are used to date portraits of women, often to within a decade. Many styles required effort – and servants – to create and maintain, so indicating women's WEALTH and status. Most involved pinning the hair in a back-bun, with an arrangement of curls at the front: the most dramatic were those of the Flavian and Trajanic periods (late first and early second centuries AD) – elaborate arrays of curls rising above the forehead in complex patterns. Many such styles required false hair, hair pieces, pads and

frames – no woman naturally has as much hair as some require – and some women probably wore complete WIGS. In addition to fashion, traditional styles were worn in special circumstances. BRIDES and VESTAL VIRGINS wore the *seni crines* (Festus, 339), a style whose precise form and meaning have been debated: the hair may have been divided into six strands or braids, wound round the head and piled on top (like the *tutulus*, see MATRONS) or cut in some particular way.

Varro, *Latin Language* 7.44; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.2, *Otho* 12.1; Sherrow (2005); *anadesmē*, *bathykomēs*, *botronatus*, *desma komas*, *kekryphalos*, *korai*, *reticulum*.

haliporphyros (G) PURPLE, especially true-purple *murex* DYE cf. *porphyros*.

Odyssey 6.53, 13.108; Alcman, 26.4.

halourgēs, halourgo(u)s (G) 'Sea PURPLE', i.e., the rich genuine purple DYE extracted from MUREX, as opposed to the imitation purple dyes, neither as fast, vibrant nor VALUABLE.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 96; Plato, *Phaedrus* 110c; Aristotle, *On the Senses* 442a4.

halourgis; halourgēma (G) A PURPLE garment or purple cloth.

Aristophanes, *Knights* 967; Libanius, *Declamations* 12.27.

halourgopōlēs (G) A TRADER or seller of PURPLE DYE, or cloth or thread pre-dyed PURPLE.

Aristotle, *Mechanics* 849b 34.

hamma parthenias (G) A SASH (*zonē*) worn by young women before childbirth, possibly part of a WEDDING outfit.

Greek Anthology 7.182.

haplois, haplous (G) Simple, or single, also a single garment; single-layered, opposite of *diplois*.

chlaina *Iliad* 24.230; *Greek Anthology* 5.293; *chitōniskos, chitōnia*, *IG* II² 1514.55, 51; 1529.18.

HARUSPEX ETRUSCAN PRIEST: artistic representations of the fourth century BC suggest they wore a FRINGED shawl, pinned at the front over a long *chitōn* and a tall spirally twisted HAT. This distinctive hat continued to be worn into the late HELLENISTIC period although other aspects of their costume may have changed over time.

HATS One of the first hats depicted in art is an Egyptian tomb-painting at Thebes showing a man wearing a coolie-style straw hat. ARCHAIC Greek art shows shaped hats made from FELT or straw: thereafter they were a common feature of Greek life, worn by individuals of various STATUS. Early references are found to dog-skin caps (*kyneē*) worn not only by peasants but as DIVINE ATTRIBUTES of deities like Hades. The ETRUSCANS seem to have had a particular liking for hats: two main forms are worn, the brimmed *petasos* and the brimless conical *pilleus*, presumably made of felt or LEATHER. More inventive hats are also illustrated in art, e.g. a huge 'cowboy'

hat (terracotta figure from Murlo, Poggio Civitate) and the tall twisted hat of the HARUSPEX. Usually worn by men, hats also appear to have been a FASHION item for Etruscan women in the late sixth century BC. Roman hats were worn by men – only rarely by women – and generally seen as functional or RITUAL wear rather than fashion items. They were worn by plebeians, or in response to the weather – especially the sun – and were associated with travellers and workmen – such as agricultural labourers, fishermen and sailors. Closer-fitting caps were worn by ATHLETES (*galericulum*) and CHARJOTEERS. The FREEDMAN's hat (*pilleus*) had symbolic importance as a badge of freedom and liberty. Some Roman priests (*flamines*) also wore a special hat (*galerus*). Hats had a larger part in provincial costumes: some GALLIC and GERMANIC women wore bonnets which achieved dramatic proportions on images of mother-goddesses. PANNONIA and Illyria also appear to have been especially associated with hats. Plautus (*Trinummus* 4.2.851–2) lampoons an Illyrian hat so big the wearer looks like a mushroom. The *pilleus Pannonicus*, a pill-box hat adopted from Pannonia by Roman soldiers in the late third century AD, came to be worn almost exclusively by the late imperial military.

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 8.57; Martial, 14.29; *kausia, petasos, pilos, PHRYGIAN CAP*.

HEADRESS Head-coverings, or items of dress used to adorn the head, implying STATUS or individuality. Elaborate turban headresses, or SNOODS decorated with jewels, were worn by PALMYRENE women and later Roman empresses.

HAIR COVERINGS, *acicula, amitos, apex, arciculum, arsineum, calautica, CROWN, diadem, SKINS, kekryphalos, polos, mitra, stephanē, strophion, tiara, vitta, VEIL*.

HEADING-BAND Particularly important on the warp-weighted LOOM, this forms the top

edge of a woven textile, helping to order and space the WARP threads during weaving: this loom was very simple in physical construction, but could be used to weave a wide variety of complex textiles depending on the arrangement of the warp and its other 'soft' elements (Fig. 25). Heading-bands were probably separately woven on a TABLET-LOOM: the WEFT of this small textile drawn out very long on one side to form the warp of the larger textile. Greek statuary often shows a distinctive corrugated band on one edge of garments, and this texture PATTERN is generally thought to indicate the heading-band.

Barber (1991: 129 etc.); *asma*, BANDS, BORDERS, *diasma*, *ōa*.

heanos (G) A finely WOVEN fabric, or the expensive diaphanous LINEN robes worn by noblewomen and goddesses in HOMERIC epic.

Iliad 18.352, 21.507, 23.254; Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 176.

HEDDLE The heddle forms the second shed (tent in the WARP through which the WEFT is passed) in WEAVING. Mechanized sheds, however achieved, are the main technical advantage of weaving over KNITTING, darning or twisting (e.g. SPRANG) and their increasingly fixed and mechanized nature has been the primary advance in the development of LOOMS since ancient times. The heddle shed must be much more mobile than the primary shed; this group of warp threads must sometimes lie right behind the others, and at other times be pulled fully up or forward past them. On the warp-weighted loom, the primary shed was fixed to the shed bar, and the heddle was created by binding the other warps to a second bar using special thread (*mitos*, *licium*) which was twined and looped around the warps. Therefore, the bar aspect of the heddle was of minimal importance – simply a stick – compared with how the warps were tied to it. Different

types of weaves, e.g. TWILL, could be relatively automated by using more separate heddles (*polymitos*).

Barber (1991: 82–3, 87–8 etc.); *agathis*, *kanōn*, *licium*, PATTERN-WEAVING, TWILL, WEAVING-TOOLS, *trimitos*.

heima (G) Unspecified article of dress or general clothing, garments, etc. Homer uses *heima* for mantle: by the CLASSICAL period it is interchangeable with *himatia*. Clytemnestra encourages AGAMEMNON to walk on richly DYED *heimata*, not single carpet as is often imagined.

Odyssey 6.214; Herodotus, 1.155; Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 1268; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 921, 963.

HELEN Almost all women MANUFACTURE textiles in Homer – many garments have named WEAVERS – but the epics are dominated by HELEN and PENELOPE, who work their LOOMS at opposite ends of the Greek world, and opposite ends of its spectrum of duty. Helen works WOOL at home and abroad. As a dutiful wife, she produces beautiful gifts, given from her hands to the future wives of her husband's visitors, using heroic versions of a woman's tools: a GOLD *kalathos* and PURPLE wool. These gifts have personal significance, produced, not just commissioned, by royal hands. Heroic wives embroider their husband's WEALTH, reflecting their own *metis*. But as a foreign princess, Helen weaves complex works documenting the epic battles that centre around her: expressing her situation without words, these will end up as the spoils of war, along with the wealth, weaving and women of Troy. Textiles in Homer are not simply garments and soft furnishings – not even simply gifts, to and from the gods, symbolizing hospitality and inclusion in the household, given to memorialize visits and spread the giver's fame. They are also grave goods, ransoms, wealth, and metaphors, epitomizing the agency of women, as in TRAGEDY.

helissō (G) To wind thread, especially onto the SPINDLE, or to twist with the fingers: also used of dancing, e.g. in Euripides, *Orestes*, 171 cf. *Iphigenia at Tauris* 1145.

Euripides, *Orestes* 1431–2; Barber (1991: 263, 268); Herodotus, 4.34 cf. 2.38.

helkesichitōn (G) A long TUNIC trailing impractically on the floor, attribute of IONIANS, stressing their LUXURIOUS and graceful lifestyle.

Iliad 13.685; HOMERIC DRESS.

helkesipeplos (G) A woman's peplos with a train at the back, created by DRAPING the peplos from a very long, wide length of fabric, pulled up at the front to create a deep fold of cloth (**bathykolpos**): depicted in late Geometric and early ARCHAIC art. Also a long VEIL.

Iliad 6.442.

HELLENISTIC DRESS Increasing access to WEALTH and importance of display are prominent features of the Hellenistic age, certainly in dress: clothing becomes more elaborate, not necessarily in CONSTRUCTION or draping, but in the quality and availability of textiles. The dress of wealthy women epitomizes this: women wear WRAPS of extraordinary quality, attested in skilful portrait sculptures. Mantles with TASSELS are depicted as so TRANSPARENT that the details of the **chitōn** worn beneath are easily distinguished: these must have been created from very fine LINEN, or a SILK-linen mix. Certainly, the development of conspicuously luxurious dress attests to the wide TRADE routes which criss-crossed the Mediterranean and Middle East in this age of kings. Some startling new dress traditions developed in this period, including the VEILING of the face with a specific face-veil (**tegidion**).

Åström and Gullberg (1970: 39–43).

HELMETS Their primary function is to protect the wearer's head and neck, but

helmets could also be highly decorated, to enhance the wearer's appearance and assert his individuality and STATUS. This can be seen particularly in crests and plumes used by SAMNITES and other south Italian warriors represented in tomb- and vase-paintings. Crests, cut short or left free-flowing, were made from horse tails fastened into small metal fixtures: FEATHERS might also be attached on either side, or used without a crest: many different combinations are represented (Figs 2, 3, 10, 38). The earliest type of Greek helm (eighth-century BC grave, Argos) is the 'Kegel': a five piece bronze helmet with cheek-guards and a horseshoe crest. However, this type never gained widespread use, or future influence, unlike the Corinthian. Originating in the eighth or seventh century, the Corinthian features a 'T' shaped opening for mouth and eyes, and in many respects its evolution is the masterwork of Greek armour: it was forged out of a single piece of bronze and encased the entire head. In later models extended cheek pieces covered the throat to the front and previous problems with hearing were reduced by ear holes – the type likely developed in phalanx warfare, where closely packed formations de-emphasized hearing and peripheral vision. During the sixth century, its descendant, the Chalcidian type, became popular, due to an open face which eased breathing and reduced heat: cheek pieces could be fixed or hinged.

The most common type of Greek cavalry helmet was the Boeotian: a solid metal cap crimped in a bowl-shape around the head, with an encircling flare of metal as a brow piece to shield the eyes and protect the ears and neck from a downward stroke. It was used by Greeks, Macedonians and early Romans alike. Later Roman soldiers used various shapes and types of helmet – some based on Greek, others on Celtic, designs – whose basic constituents were bowls of bronze or iron with neck-guards, brow-ridges, and cheek-pieces: the relative sizes and shapes of these elements varied, resulting in different 'types' defined by

modern typological studies. As the Roman army became more professional, helmets became more standardized (e.g. 'Montefortino' and 'Coolus' types, widely used in the imperial period), but there was still room for individuality and changing FASHIONS (e.g. second-third century AD trend towards larger neck-guards). Helmets also varied according to the status of the soldier: legionary helmets were better quality and more up-to-date than auxiliary. All visible parts of a helmet could be decorated in relief, and many Roman helmets had finials for crests and/or plumes but the circumstances in which these crests and plumes would be worn – in the field, or only on parade – especially by ordinary soldiers, are unclear. The same is true of 'SPORTS armour' worn by cavalry. Some very elaborately decorated helmets have been found at various frontier sites, distinguished from ordinary helmets by hinged face masks, moulded to reproduce a – male or female – face, with holes at the eyes and nostrils: they may have been worn at cavalry displays acting out battles between Greeks and AMAZONS, or even when fighting for real. GLADIATORIAL helmets also combined practical protection with display: examples surviving from Pompeii show that they could be very highly decorated.

Connelly (1998); Goldsworthy (2003); Hanson (1989).

hēmidiplōidion (G) A woman's garment (peplos) draped – effectively in half – to create a large OVERFOLD (kolpos).

Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 318.

hēmihyphēs, hēmihyphantos (G) Literally, half-woven, used at BRAURON where it probably emphasizes that WEAVING was interrupted by death in childbirth (see ARTEMIS) and implies home TEXTILE MANUFACTURE for chitōniskoi, chitōnion, himation, tarantinon and pteryga, at least in this period.

Aeneas Tacticus, 29.6; hyphē, IG II² 1514.53, 59; Cleland (2005b).

HEMP Another plant FIBRE source, generally coarser and more durable than FLAX – although not always readily distinguishable – probably more commonly used for ropes, string and sails than TEXTILE MANUFACTURE, although hempen textiles have been found at Gordion (eighth century BC) and at Trakhones (fifth century BC). Sails were certainly important and large-scale uses of textiles: hemp fibres are more resistant to saltwater damage than LINEN, lighter than WOOL, so likely used for sail-cloth or canvas, see also LOOMS.

kannabis, kannabiska, stuppinos; Barber (1991: 18).

HERAKLES/HERCULES The greatest Greco-Roman hero is frequently defined by his clothing – his club and the skull and SKIN of the Nemean lion (Figs 1, 10, 39) – but at other times effeminized by wearing the krokos-coloured garments of queen Omphale of Lydia. After his labours, ATHENA presents him with a peplos for his retirement, but his wife Deianeira has other plans and murders him by poisoning it. Monarchs like Alexander the Great, Commodus and Caracalla frequently took Herakles as a role-model, dressing in lion skins.

Diodorus Siculus, 4.14.3.1–14; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 580ff; Llewellyn-Jones (2006: 51–69).

HERCULEAN KNOT A reef knot (nodus Herculeanus) in the woollen GIRDLE worn by a Roman BRIDE over the tunica recta, untied by her husband in the marriage bed: a good omen for the marriage, as Herakles had 70 sons. It became popular in the early HELLENISTIC period and may originate in EGYPT, where it had long been used as a design for AMULETS and was thought to have special beneficial powers. Also used decoratively on various JEWELLERY, especially diadems, BRACELETS and RINGS.

Festus, 63.

himas (G) Strap, BELT or SASH; often LEATHER, used for securing ARMOUR, HELMETS and SANDALS, and by ATHLETES for creating BOXING GLOVES. In Homer, APHRODITE's magical GIRDLE (*keistos*).

Iliad 10.262, 14.214, 219; Plato, *Protagoras* 342c.

himatidaron, himatidion (G) Diminutives of **himation**, a short or small MANTLE.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 90; Lysias, *Fr.* 316S.

himatiokleptēs (G) A clothes-THIEF (cf. *lypodytēs*).

Demosthenes, 6.52.

himatiomisthēs (G) Someone who rents out ACTORS' STAGE COSTUMES.

IG XII(9) 207.22 (Eretria third century BC); Pollux, 7.78.

himation nymphikon (G) A WEDDING **himation**. The groom was divested of his *chlamys* and dressed in this, which was perhaps defined by fabric COLOUR and quality; *krokos* was particularly appropriate.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 771d; Llewellyn-Jones (2003); Losfeld (1991: 159).

himation (G) A general term for dress or clothing, the word comes increasingly to mean a large and voluminous oblong of cloth diagonally draped across the torso, wrapped around the body, supported on one shoulder and arm – not unlike a simplified version of the later Roman *toga*. An outer garment, it tends to be worn over a TUNIC, although men frequently wear it alone, revealing part of the chest, shoulders and one arm. Women, however, always wear the **himation** with a long *chiton*. In iconography, the male **himation** is first attested c. 650 BC, but the first female use is later, c. 520 BC. Wearing this large amount of cloth, disported in various ways, was clearly difficult. A well-bred man was noted for how he carried his **himation**, sometimes

affecting negligence by letting it slip off from shoulder to waist as he rested upon a STAFF. In public, women took pains to conceal themselves beneath the **himation**, often drawing a loose fold over the head, and/or face, as a VEIL. The **himation** was made from heavy WOOL: woven with elaborate coloured PATTERNS in the ARCHAIC period, in the Classical period the FASHION was for a plain WHITE or unbleached **himation**, except during MOURNING. Its rectangular shape clearly distinguished it from the *toga* and other types of Roman CLOAK: it became the Roman *pallium* (men) or *palla* (women), and continued to be associated with the Greek world and intellectual activity, rather than Italy and the west. Also the standard form of dress for Christ and the Apostles in early CHRISTIAN art.

Herodotus, 1.9, 4.23; Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 333; Demosthenes, 24.114; Van Wees (1998: 333–87); Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

himatiopōlē, himatiopōlis (G) A clothes dealer (male or female, see CLOTHES SHOPS, TRADE); a seller of ready made textiles and SECOND-HAND CLOTHES: obliged to pay a tax known as the *himatiopōlikon*.

Critias, *Fr.* 64D.

himatismos (G) A general term for clothes, apparel.

Theophrastus, *Characters* 23.8; Plutarch, *Alexander* 39.

histopodes (G) The two long beams of a vertical LOOM between which the web was stretched (Fig. 25).

Greek Anthology 7. 424.

histopoiia (G) To make a LOOM.

Scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca* 11.

historgeō; histoponos (G) Working at the LOOM.

Plato, *Symposium* 197b; *Greek Anthology* 6.48; 6.247; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1315.

histos (G) Anything upright (e.g. ship's mast), but often the vertical beams of a LOOM: by extension, the WARP and hence the whole textile.

Iliad 6.491, *Odyssey* 2.104; 5.62; Theocritus, 15.35; Plato, *Phaedrus* 84a.

HOBNAILS Iron nails through the soles of Roman SHOES, SANDALS and BOOTS to prevent them wearing out too quickly (Fig. 5): hammered in using an iron last with an inner sole or lining to protect the foot. Particularly associated with MILITARY shoes (*caligae*), so soldiers marching made a lot of noise: Jews are said to have avoided using hobnails so that they could always tell when a Roman soldier was approaching. Although many extant civilian shoes do not have hobnails, clearly they could also be used for non-military footwear: various examples of hobnailed shoes survive in civilian contexts all over the empire. The hobnails were placed all around the edge of the sole and in various patterns in the centre, leaving characteristic traces as the wearer walked in the dust or mud: variety and rapidity of change at various sites suggest that this could be a conscious FASHION feature. Circles, s-shapes, swastikas, leaves and tridents were all used, as well as the D-shape which gives support where the foot needs it most, and is still used for modern sports shoes. Some designs may have been intended to bring good luck. There is also evidence that PROSTITUTES might wear sandals whose hobnails spelled out messages to their prospective clients (e.g. 'follow me'; sandalled foot-shaped lamp in the Louvre, surviving example from Mainz).

Goldman (1994: 101–29); Van Driel Murray (1998: 131–40).

holoporphynos (G) Entirely PURPLE: Greek goes to some length to specify exactly where, and how much was present on a particular garment (*platyalourgos*, *mesalourgos*, etc. cf. *holosericus*).

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.13; Plutarch, 2.180.

holosericus (L) Entirely of SILK. Silk was usually mixed with other FIBRES: cloth made of silk alone was extremely COSTLY.

Harlow (2005: 143–53).

HOMERIC DRESS As in later Greek dress, men's clothing had two basic garments: a TUNIC (or *chiton*) and a large WRAP (either *chlaina* or *pharos*), draped around the shoulders and fastened with a PIN or BROOCH. Accessories were few, apart from humble SKIN caps, GLOVES and SANDALS. Women wear a long belted *hellesipeplos*, with deep *kolpos*, and a *pharos* pulled over the head as a VEIL. Specific LINEN head-veils (*krēdemnon*, *kalyptra*, *kalumma*) were also worn. Homeric dress is particularly distinguished by size – huge pieces of folded cloth were needed – suggesting that the dress of heroes was regarded as costly. In addition PATTERN is frequently mentioned, emphasizing the economic VALUE of Homeric clothing.

Van Wees (2005: 1–36).

HOODS Attached to various Roman CAPES e.g. *cucullus*, *bardocucullus*, *paenula* and *alicaula*, and typical male GALLIC dress. That such garments were worn especially in the COUNTRY by shepherds and HUNTSMEN is seen in various representations, but LITERARY references suggest that they might also be worn in town when needed. Country capes were of coarse WOOL, LEATHER or SKINS (Fig. 9), city ones could be DYED a variety of colours.

Juvenal, 3.170, 6.118, 8.145; Martial, 14.140[139]; *capitium*, WATERPROOFING.

hosae (L) Leg coverings associated with Roman soldiers: perhaps leggings, TROUSERS, garters or even BOOTS.

HUNTING DRESS ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds – e.g. Tutankhamun's hunting outfits and archery GLOVES – from New Kingdom EGYPT indicate huntsmen's high social STATUS: only individuals with enough leisure could adopt

this time-consuming sport. Assyrian and PERSIAN reliefs depict kings hunting lions: they gird their tunics into BELTS and roll excess fabric above the shoulders. Standard Greek male hunting costume was a short TUNIC, *chlamys* and *petasos*. Female hunting dress was, at least in a MYTHOLOGICAL context, similar and might reflect the dress of female ATHLETES in real life, cf. Fig. 34. Hunting was a major sport among the Roman imperial elite: dress varied – not least according to status – but commonly included fairly short, belted, long-sleeved tunics with side-slits to aid movement, LEGGINGS on lower legs and CLOAKS or hooded shoulder CAPES – for servants rather than masters (Fig. 47). Some representations suggest UNDERWEAR – a LOINCLOTH and/or undertunic – and most huntsmen wear short BOOTS. Tunics might be very highly DECORATED, with patches and bands.

Parisinou (2002: 55–72); Barringer (2001); ARTEMIS, *chitōnariōn*, *cothurni*, *endromides*, *krēpis*.

hyacinthinus (L) Hyacinth-COLOURED.

laena, Persius, 1.32.

hyphaino (G) To WEAVE, create or construct, or metaphorically, plan – good schemes or bad – craftily.

Iliad 6.546; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1143; Scheid and Svenbro (1992).

hyphantēs/hyphantria; hyphanteion (G) WEAVER (male/female); WEAVING-shed.

Plato, *Phaedrus* 87b, *Republic* 369d; Aristotle, *Politics* 1291a13; *Tebtunis Papyrus* 703.88 (third century BC).

hyphantikos (G) Skilled in WEAVING.

Plato, *Cratylus* 388c, *Gorgias* 490d; Democritus, 154.

hyphantos (G) WOVEN fabric.

Odyssey 13.136; Euripides, *Ion* 1146; Thucydides, 2.97.

hyphantron (G) A wage for WEAVING, cf. **hyphanteion**, most evidence comes from papyri.

Papyrus Enteux 4.4 (third century BC); *Tebtunis* 117.47 (first century BC); *Londinium* 3.108, p. 136 (first AD).

hyphasma, hyphasmation (G) A WOVEN garment, or textile.

Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 27, 231, 1015; *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 1428.10 (fourth century AD).

hyphē, hyphos (G) The web – WARP and WEFT – of the LOOM, textile.

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 949; Euripides, *Ion* 1146; Strabo, 10.1.6.

hypodēma, hypodēmation (G) A sole, SANDAL, SHOE, or half-BOOT, general term for FOOTWEAR.

Odyssey 15.139; Herodotus, 1.195; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 983.

hypoduma (G) A tunic or UNDERGARMENT, regulated at ANDANIA.

IG V(1) 1390.19; Cleland (forthcoming a).

hysge (G) Source of **hysginon**, probably the kermes-oak, see RED.

Pausanias, 10.36.1.

hysginobaphes (G) Dipped or DYED in **hysginon**, SCARLET cloths.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.13; Athenaeus, 12.539e

hysginon (G) A BRIGHT RED crimson DYE, perhaps kermes.

Greek Anthology 6.254; Vitruvius, 7.14.1; Pliny, *NH* 9.65.140.

hysginosēmos (G) With RED-crimson STRIPES.

Price Edict of Diocletian 29.36.

I

ianthinus/os; ianthina (L/G) Violet COLOUR; violet garments.

Martial, 2.39.1.

INAPPROPRIATE DRESS High STATUS late republican and early to mid-imperial Roman men were expected to follow a strict dress code: wearing the wrong clothes for the occasion suggested a flawed character and immoral tendencies, although occasionally such failure might be deliberate, a protest signalling dissent. Various sartorial solecisms are documented. Most common was wearing 'GREEK DRESS' (**pallium** and **SANDALS**) when representing Rome or conducting official business. Cicero uses this as an indication of character defect (*Against Verres* 5.13.31, 5.16.40, 5.33.86, 5.52.137, *Philippic* 2.30.76). Augustus tried to enforce the wearing of the **toga** – instead of the more casual **lacerna** – at the forum and Suetonius also implies criticism by portraying Nero wearing dining clothes in public, going **BAREFOOT**, with a scarf and **UNBELTED** tunic – the latter only being **APPROPRIATE** for upper-class Roman men in times of emotional stress such as funerals, as defendant at trial, or during the social inversion of the Saturnalia. Even being on holiday was not sufficient to relax the dress code: senators could be criticized for wearing casual tunics, **lacerna** and sandals rather than the **toga** and proper

senatorial shoes. Neither long flowing garments and soft shoes nor **BRIGHT** clothes (**EFFEMINATE**) were appropriate, especially for older men, and even women could be criticized for wearing too much **JEWELLERY** at the wrong event. It was also important to wear the **MOURNING toga pulla** only at the right time and place.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 40.5, *Nero* 51; Aulus Gellius, 13.22; Quintilian, 11.1.31; Pliny, *NH* 9.58.117; Heskel (1994: 133–45).

inconsutilis, inconsutus. (L) Not SEWN, without seams.

tunica, Vulgate, John 19.23; Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 22.19.

indicum (L) Indigo, its BLUE colour as a DYE or pigment.

Pliny, *NH* 35.12.30.

induo (L) To put on an article of dress or ornament, cf. **endyo**, so **indutus**, implying a garment that is put on, not wrapped around, the person (**amictus**).

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 2.8.20.

indusiarius (L) A person who makes or sells ready-made tunics.

Plautus, *Aulularia* 3.5.509; CLOTHES SHOPS, **induo**, TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

indusium/intusium (L) UNDERWEAR, probably a TUNIC, usually worn by women – especially MATRONS – or un-MASCULINE men, e.g. SLAVE boys, ACTORS.

Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131; Nonius, 866L; *tunicae indusiatae*, Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.229–31; *indusiati*, Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 2.19, 10.30, 8.27.

infector; inficio (L) A DYER; to DYE.

Cicero, *Letters to Friends* 2.16.7; Plautus, *Truculentus* 2.2.271.

infibulatus (L) Wearing a garment fastened by a **fibula** or BROOCH: **flamines** were so described because of their RITUAL costume.

Servius, *In Aeneidem* 4.262.

infula (L) A RED or WHITE FILLET or ribbon, made of un-SPUN WOOL, held together at regular intervals by knots or small BEADS (cf. **agrenon**): most commonly worn by PRIESTS and priestesses, asylum seekers and SACRIFICIAL victims, it could also be used on altars and the doorposts of a BRIDE'S new home. It symbolized RITUAL purity and acted as a protective talisman. VESTAL VIRGINS' HAIRSTYLES included a white **infula**, wound several times around the head, the ends hanging in long loops (**vittae**) over the shoulders (Fig. 48). Brides and MATRONS also wore **vittae**, but not necessarily the **infula**. The **infula** was also worn by Roman empresses acting as priestesses in the imperial cult (e.g. Livia, Antonia Minor) and was used in portraiture as a sign of their deification.

Festus, 113; Servius, *In Aeneidem* 10.538; Isidore, *Origins* 19.30.4; Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.430, 10.538; La Follette (1994: 54–64).

INITIATION Clothing was important in ancient initiation RITUALS, especially Mystery cults, aiding an individual's transformation from one state of being to another, as demonstrated by the SYMBOLISM of BRIDAL dress. In fact, many of the garments utilized by BRIDES are also

commonly found in initiation rites, particularly the VEIL, beneath which initiates customarily underwent rituals: the initiate HERAKLES pays homage to Demeter's grief by sitting passive on a low stool, his head veiled in a deep fold of his **himation**. Initiation marked transitions between life stages in the Greek and Roman worlds, often with dress: the ephebe's characteristic **chlamys**; girls wearing the **krokōtos** at BRAURON; dedication of the virgin's BELT before MARRIAGE; and changing from the child's **toga praetexta** to the adult male's **toga pura**.

Burkert (1987); Cleland (forthcoming a).

INSIGNIA Symbols themselves, rather than symbolic aspects of dress: marks of honour – items of dress like CROWNS, WREATHS, **diadems**, JEWELLERY, especially **fibulae** and BROOCHES. Various forms of DECORATION, even COLOUR – especially PURPLE – also functioned as insignia (see STATUS, **clavus**, **praetexta**). Insignia were much more systematic in Roman culture than Greek, becoming more marked as the empire evolved, e.g. elaborate crowns and brooches with three hanging pendants develop through the fourth and fifth centuries AD, and are fully developed in Fig. 8.

Stout (1994: 77–100); **kausia**, **petasos**.

institae (L) Shoulder straps of a MATRON'S **stola**. Early scholars mistakenly identified the **institae** as a flounce on the bottom of the **stola**, but they are now accepted as the narrow straps visible on the shoulders of some early imperial statues and busts of Roman women – sometimes a double cord or ribbon threaded through a hem at the top edge, although other designs and methods of attachment are also suggested by sculptural representations.

Horace, *Satires* 1.2.29; Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.32, *Tristia* 2.248; Scholz (1992: 88–93; figs 30–58); Sebesta (1994: 46–53).

interrasile (L) A form of metalwork used for JEWELLERY from the second century AD:

elaborate geometric openwork designs, often used as settings for medallions or coins.

intexo (L) To WEAVE into, generally join together or, metaphorically, describe.

Tibullus, 4.1.5; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.577.

iobaphēs (G) Violet-DYED.

Athenaeus, 2.42e.

ION, THE Like many of Euripides' plays, revolves around a textile topos, here the role of elaborately worked textiles in the recognition and assertion of royal kinship: the PATTERNED textile is a form of female signature, by which a woman knows, and is known by, estranged male relatives. Also notable for an extensive description of the narrative potential, and RITUAL significance, of FIGURED textiles. Although both concepts might otherwise be dismissed as heroic fantasies, the BRAURON catalogues confirm them, describing actual garments with figurative scenes, and taking care to name and commemorate the creators of complex patterned garments.

IONIAN DRESS Ancient Ionia was extremely prosperous from flourishing agriculture and commerce, making important contributions to Greek art and culture in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and exercising a powerful, reciprocated, influence on Lydian culture. Miletus and Phocaea became important TRADING, commercial and colonial centres. In the ARCHAIC period, Ionia became renowned for its luxurious dress: PURPLE-DYED garments, fine LINEN robes and

even PARASOLS and FANS. The 'Ionic chitōn' was its most iconic feature: similar to the DORIC peplos in overall construction – but made from a much wider single rectangle of thin linen or occasionally silk, instead of woollen fabric, reflecting increased eastern influence (Figs 12, 40, 46). It had no surplus length of material, being measured exactly from shoulder to ankle (Fig. 7). The enormous width required eight to ten fibulae to fasten the top edge, leaving openwork either side of the neck, running across the shoulders and down the arms to form elbow-length SLEEVES. This Ionian fashion entered Greece by the late Archaic period and is routinely found on the Attic korai.

Van Wees (1998); Boardman (1994).

ipos (G) A FULLER's press.

Archilochus, 169.

isatis (G) Woad, a plant producing a dark-BLUE DYE, Latin *isatis tinctoria*.

Theophrastus, *Senses* 77; Pliny, *NH* 20.25.59.

ISIS Along with her female worshippers and PRIESTESSES Isis in art wears a long WHITE tunic, presumably of LINEN, with a FRINGED CLOAK knotted over the breast. A lotus flower is often shown over the forehead, but may not have been part of any real costume.

Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 11.3, 11.9.

isoptyches (G) Literally, with equal FOLDS – i.e. a regular fold pattern, pleated ptyx – used (only at BRAURON) for chitōnia and the closely related krokōtos.

IG II² 1514.63, 65, 66; 1524B.229.

J

JEWELLERY A vast subject in its own right, only discussed in outline here. There is rather more **ARCHAEOLOGICAL** evidence for jewellery – mainly from tombs and hoards – than for dress itself. Artistic representations – especially funerary effigies – also provide information on different forms of jewellery and how they were worn. Literary sources give insights into attitudes and social and **SYMBOLIC** functions. While some forms – particularly **BROOCHES**, **fibulae**, **PINS** and **BELTS** – were integral to Greek and Roman dress, not simply decorative, other types had symbolic significance: **HEADDRESSES**, some **RINGS** – wedding, betrothal and signet rings, **AMULETS (bullae)** and **INSIGNIA**. Nevertheless, jewellery was often worn simply as ornament and to display wealth: especially **EARRINGS**, **NECKLACES**, **BRACELETS**, armlets, anklets, chains worn across the torso and **HAIR ACCESSORIES**.

Ancient jewellery incorporated a wide range of materials. **GOLD** was especially favoured at all periods, but other metals – bronze, copper, silver and iron – were also used, with ivory, bone, horn and jet, and many precious and semi-precious stones – emeralds, amethysts, sapphires, garnets, cornelian, and amber. Pearls were especially highly prized, but not diamonds, since precious stones were polished, not faceted. Cheaper materials like glass were widely used, and many of the brooches,

belts, amulets, etc. – especially **BEADS** – worn in the Greek and Roman worlds were made of common and perishable materials. Many different techniques were also used for working the materials, especially metals: granulation – a technique using numerous little beads of gold – was perfected by the **ETRUSCANS**; enamelling was introduced to Rome from the north-west provinces; and the cutting of stones into complex cameo and intaglio designs was at its height in the **HELLENISTIC** and early imperial periods. Since it is well attested archaeologically, jewellery can play an important role in dating or sequencing artistic representations of clothing, and changes in the degree of ornamentation can suggest something about the **FASHIONS** of different sub-periods: there was, for example, a steady growth in the amount and size of jewellery worn in the Roman period, and some areas (**PALMYRA**) were noted for the sheer amount of jewellery worn (Fig. 22).

While jewellery was clearly important in expressing **WEALTH** and **STATUS** in Greek and Roman dress, it was essentially special occasion wear, in everyday use only by the exceptionally rich, and universally worn by women rather than men in the Classical world. Greek and Roman men might wear signet rings, **fibulae** or brooches as practical items of dress, and ornate – military – belt fittings, but other forms of jewellery

were considered EFFEMINATE. In Classical Greece, and the Roman republic and early empire at least, the cult of modesty for both men and women dictated that jewellery should be kept simple and discreet. This changed in the later Roman empire when jewellery became more of a signifier of status, even for men: jewellery was often given by emperors to favoured individuals, and could be worn as a sign of loyalty.

Pliny, *NH* 37.11.44, 9.59.117; Higgins (1980); Stout (1994: 77–100).

JEWISH CLOTHING Jews in the Roman empire wore clothing similar to others in the

EASTERN PROVINCES, but with a few distinguishing features. SOURCES include garments preserved in the Judean dessert – especially the Cave of Letters: remains of numerous TUNICS and CLOAKS, and two HAIRNETS, c. AD 135; paintings of the third century Synagogue at Dura Europos; and references in Hebrew literature (*Mishnah*, c. AD 200). Together, these suggest that men wore tunics decorated with two vertical STRIPES – as elsewhere – a cloak, and various SHOES and SANDALS – usually without HOBNAILS. Women wore a long, SLEEVED tunic as an undergarment, with a shorter sleeveless tunic and a palla. Specifically



Figure 22 Funerary bust of a PALMYRENE woman, in Berlin, third century AD. She wears masses of JEWELLERY and a large turban-like HEADDRESS.

Jewish are the prohibition on using mixed FIBRES when making cloth, and the *tallit*, the Jewish version of a man's *pallium*, which had a TASSEL (*tzitzit*) on each of the corners. The Cave of Letters material shows a large range of COLOURS, and cloaks PATTERNED with contrasting coloured geometric shapes – notched BANDS or L-shaped *gamma*. Women wore these coloured garments – but were forbidden to wear RED – whereas men wore predominantly WHITE. Jewish women stood out from others in the Roman world by wearing the VEIL outdoors,

a custom which had become much less common elsewhere.

Deuteronomy 22.11, 12; Roussin (1994: 182–90).

jugum (L) The beam of the LOOM.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.55.

Juno Sospita According to Cicero, the Roman goddess Juno Sospita of Lanuvium retained an archaic form of dress, including a GOATSKIN and *calcei repandi*.

Nature of the Gods 1.29.82.

K

kairos (G) The shed bar, fixed on the warp-weighted LOOM, for fixing alternate WARP threads (Fig. 25).

Aelius Dionysius, *Fr.* 400; Barber (1996: 269).

kairōseōn, kairōspathetos

(G) CLOSE-WOVEN, from **kairos**.

Odyssey 7.107; Hermippus Comicus, 5.

kairōstris (G) A female WEAVER; from **kairos**.

Callimachus, *Fr.* 356.

kakoeimōn, kakoeimonia (G) Bad clothing, ill-clad, cf. **dyseimonia**.

Scholiast on Aristophanes *Frogs* 1308; *Odyssey* 18.41.

kalasiris, kalasēris (G) A long loose TUNIC of fine LINEN with a FRINGED hem (Fig. 35): EGYPTIAN or PERSIAN origin, worn at ANDANIA.

Herodotus, 2.81.

kalathos, kalathiskos (G) A WOOL basket (Fig. 23) cf. **talartos**, used to hold CARDED wool for SPINNING, cf. **tolupē**.

Aristophanes, *Birds* 1325; Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 1; Barber (1991: 261)



Figure 23 Owl LOOM-WEIGHT with SPINDLE and kalathos: emblem of ATHENA Penitis.

kallizōnos (G) ‘With beautiful sashes’. Homeric epithet for noblewomen, cf. **euzōnos, zōnē**.

Iliad 7.139; 24.698, *Odyssey* 23.147.

kalumma (G) A woman’s VEIL – HOMERIC period to Roman era: superficially purely connected with mourning, grief, anger and despair – twice described in epic poetry as BLACK/dark – this supposition is not supported by later evidence. The Nereids give a golden **kalumma**; BRIDES wear a WEDDING **kalumma**, therefore probably RED or SAFFRON.

Iliad 22.93–6; Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 41–4; Bacchylides, *Dithyramb* 17.37; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1178; Euripides, *Iphigeneia at Tauris* 372; Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

kaluptra, kalupteira (G) A woman's VEIL, standard part of female dress, worn daily from the HOMERIC era well into the Roman period.

Iliad 22.406, *Odyssey* 5.230–2, 10.543–5; Aeschylus, *Persians* 537–9; Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

kandys (G) A Median or PERSIAN coat – sometimes LEATHER – with ornamental SLEEVES; worn by men, draped on the shoulders without arms in sleeves (Fig. 14 cf. *korē*). Achaemenid Persian art implies it could be FUR-lined or fur-trimmed, suggesting a garment with connotations of high social STATUS. The *kandys* appears in CLASSICAL Athenian art worn by foreign, oriental, females like Medea, but the EPIGRAPHIC record, e.g. BRAURON, suggests that it was a popular garment with Athenian women – remodelled in LINEN and often embellished with bright EMBROIDERY or WOVEN PATTERNS (Fig. 39, *poikilos*). The popular trend of EFFEMINIZING Persia in the Hellenic imagination transformed a Persian garment denoting high male social status into a feminine luxury item.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.3.2; Miller (1997: 165–70).

kannabis (G) HEMP; a coarse FIBRE also used for ropes, sails and *kannabiska*, hemp SHOES.

Herodotus, 4.74; Herodas, 7.58.

kanōn, kamax (G) The HEDDLE bar, holding alternate threads of the WARP in loops of heddle string (*mitos*). Placed once the warp was attached to the loom, before WEAVING: the string or thread was removed once finished (Fig. 25).

Iliad 23.761; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 822; Barber (1991: 269).

karbatinai (G) Literally, made of animal SKIN, but especially SHOES of undressed leather (RAWHIDE).

Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.5.14; Aristotle, *History of Animals* 499a30.

kardiophylax (G) A small BREASTPLATE, designed to protect the heart, a single disc – presumably metal – fastened by straps attached at four points, passing round the shoulders, chest and back, seen on the sixth-century BC central Italian statue the 'Warrior from Capestrano' and illustrated on other early Italian statues and vase-painting – extant examples from Alfedena and Rome. It was probably worn by SAMNITE warriors as a precursor of their characteristic three-disc breastplate and possibly indicated high STATUS, but was used by common soldiers in the mid-second century BC. Later worn by the Salian PRIESTS of Rome as a form of RITUAL dress.

Polybius, 6.23.14; Livy, 1.20.4.

karkinoi (G) Literally, crabs, also a kind of SHOE.

Pherecrates, 178.

karpōtos (G) A TUNIC with long SLEEVES to the wrist: specifically attested in the Greek Old Testament as an expensive sleeved garment (see Joseph) and the fine sleeved robes of a Jewish princess (Tamar, daughter of King David).

Septuagint, 2 Kingdoms 13.18.

kartos (G) From *kartē*, sliced, therefore probably shorn-smooth, or possibly 'razored' as shorn PATTERNS. *Kartē* later denoted a particular garment of shorn fabric.

IG II² 1514.28, 39, 40; Juba, *History* 85.

kasas, kasēs (G) An animal SKIN used as saddle or horse cloth; perhaps a large WATERPROOF concealing CLOAK.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.8; Losfeld (1991: 302–3).

kassuō, kattuō (G) To stitch, or SEW together like a shoemaker: many Greek terms for sewing as joining concentrate on LEATHER.

Plato, *Euthydemus* 294b; **pedila** Nicander, *Fr.* 85.6; Pherecrates, 178.

katagma (G) A roll of processed wool for SPINNING cf. **ēlakata**.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 583; Barber (1991: 262).

katapytychēs (G) The deep or plentiful FOLDS of a garment, suggesting its VALUE through quality and size.

Theocritus, 15.34.

katarraphos (G) SEWN together, patched, see SECOND-HAND CLOTHES.

Lucian, *Epistulae Saturnales* 28.

katastiktos (G) PATTERNED, specifically EMBROIDERED. Similar to **poikilos**, but from *stizein*, to prick, tattoo: its use at BRAURON implies a distinction.

Arrian, *Indica* 5; Menander, 1019; Cleland (2005b: 117).

katōnakē (G) A coarse TUNIC with a hem of rough WOOL or SHEEPSKIN; associated with SLAVES and manual workers.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1151.

kassyma, kattyma (G) Anything SEWN from LEATHER, e.g. soles of SHOE or SANDALS, and so these themselves.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 301, *Knights* 315, 869, *Wasps* 1160.⁴

kaunakēs (G) Originally Babylonian or PERSIAN, a cloak made from thick tufted WOOL, popular among the FASHIONABLE elite of fifth-century BC Athens. Perhaps DECORATED with WEFT-LOOPING, a labour intensive

process giving it a bobbled or shaggy texture, and making it an expensive LUXURY garment.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1131–47.

kausia (G) Literally ‘warmer’, a Macedonian broad-brimmed, flat, FELT hat, sometimes PURPLE. Developed into part of Macedonian royal INSIGNIA.

Arrian, *Anabasis* 7.22.2; Plutarch, *Antony* 54.5.

keirō (G) To crop or shear, e.g. WOOL, or trim the NAP of cloth.

Barber (1991: 261, 274).

kekryphalos (G) A net-like cap, SNOOD or HAIRNET – ideal for the Greek female chignon HAIRSTYLE – like a little bag to contain the hair, women seem to have tucked it under a FILLET or **stephanē** (Fig. 21). Sometimes the **kekryphalos** covered the hair completely, or left hair visible over the forehead, cf. **mitra**, **sakkos**.

Iliad 22.469; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 138; *Greek Anthology* 5.269.

keleontes (G) The two vertical beams of a LOOM between which the web was stretched, Fig. 25, cf. **histopodes**.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 795.

kerkis (G) Tool that carried the WEFT, also pin-beater, cf. **spathē**. In modern terms, a type of SHUTTLE, see Fig. 25, WEAVING TOOLS.

Odyssey 5.62; Sophocles, *Antigone* 976; Barber (1991: 273).

kerkistikē (G) Literally, art of the pin-beater, so WEAVING, see **kerkis**.

Plato, *Politics* 282b.

kerkizō (G) To separate the threads of the LOOM with a pin-beater, see **kerkis**, **krekadia**.

Plato, *Cratylus* 388b; Aristotle, *Politics* 1253b37.

keskeon, keskion (G) Tow, broken FLAX fibres combed out in scutching.

Herodas, 9a: Barber (1991: 262).

kestos (G) A band of cloth encircling the upper torso, binding the breasts like a basic BRASSIERE (in Homer, APHRODITE'S magic *zonē*). This would flatten the breasts against the body, not lift up, although it might reduce sagging. Some painted representations suggest that the *kestos* could be supported by shoulder straps. However, nothing was generally worn beneath the female *chitōn* or *peplos*, unless this is a facet of the EROTICIZATION commonly found in the artistic representation of women, cf. *mastodeton*, *strophion*, UNDERWEAR.

Iliad 14. 214; *Greek Anthology* 2.101, 289–90.

kidaris (G) A floppy HAT with long ear-flaps, or a cowl, of uncertain construction, characteristically Scythian, PERSIAN or Thracian (Fig. 39). The Septuagint varies between *kidaris* and *mitra*.

Sirach, 45.12.

kimberikon, kimmerikon (G) A light, semi-TRANSPARENT, female *chitōn* of fine LINEN.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 44–5, 52–3.

kimolia gē (G) Kimolian earth, used in FULLING.

Barber (1991: 274).

KINGS, ROMAN Various authors attribute specific forms of dress to the early kings of Rome, particularly the *toga picta* and *toga purpurea*, but such accounts may be anachronistic: similar items were also seen as appropriate gifts to foreign kings.

Florus, 1.1.6; Livy, 31.11.12.

kithōn (G) Ionic dialect for *chitōn*.

Herodotus, 1.8.

klōstēr; klōstēs (G) A SPINDLE, thread or SKEIN; a SPINNER.

Theocritus, 24.70; Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 507; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1349; IG V(1) 209.22 (Sparta).

Klōthō (G) 'The SPINSTER'. One of the three Moirai or FATES, who regulated the length of every mortal life by means of a thread, collectively also known in MYTHOLOGY as *Klōthes*, 'The Spinners'.

Odyssey 7.197; Plato, *Republic* 617c; *Greek Anthology* 7.14.

klōthō (G) To SPIN WOOL or LINEN.

Herodotus, 5.12; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 2.678.

knapheion, gnaphaeion (G) A FULLER's shop.

Herodotus, 4.14; Lysias, 3.15.

knapheuō; knaphos (G) To CLEAN cloth or clothes; a prickly teasel, used to CARD wool or clean cloth.

Aristophanes, *Wealth* 166; Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Wealth* 166.

knapheus (G) A FULLER or cloth-CARDER. Carding both CLEANED and restored the NAP of cloth cf. new WOOL.

Herodotus, 4.14; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1128.

knaptō (G) To CARD WOOL – with teasel or comb – or FULL cloth.

Dioscurides, 4.159.

KNITTING First attested in ARCHAEOLOGY at Dura Europos in the mid-third century AD. Knitted SOCKS of the Roman period have been found in EGYPT, but knitting was not widely used for other types of garment. Instead, garments formed of relatively elastic tubes – never common forms in Greek and Roman dress – were usually made using SPRANG techniques.

Forbes (1956: 179).

kolpos (G) The OVERFOLD of a **peplos** or **chitōn**, hanging over the female torso from shoulders to waist or mid-thigh, depending on the garment's arrangement (Figs 11, 38). Sometimes belted at the waist or below the bosom, it could also hang loose, cf. **bathykolpos**. In HOMERIC and CLASSICAL texts it is the section of the garment unfastened to reveal a breast at times of emotional crisis (cf. GESTURES), therefore an alternative meaning is 'bosom' or 'breast'. From the mid-fifth century BC the back of the **kolpos** was drawn up over the head as a VEIL: it could also be used to conceal the lower face.

Iliad 9.570; Aeschylus, *Persians* 539; Herodotus, 6.125; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 1044.

kolpōma (G) A large and elaborate long TUNIC with ample FOLDS, part of tragic STAGE COSTUME for actors playing kings. Perhaps named for the deep folds created by the wide GOLD BELT customarily worn by tragic ACTORS.

Pollux, 4.116.

kokkinos (G) SCARLET, cf. *coccinus*.

Herodian, 6.19; Plutarch, *Fabius* 15; Arrian, *Epicteti*. 3.22.10.

kokkinobaphai (G) SCARLET-DYED.

Papyrus Holmiensis 21.41.

konipous, konipodes (G) Literally, dusty-foot, also a SHOE covering only a small part of the foot.

Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 848; Pollux, 7.86.

korē (G) A long SLEEVE extending over the wrist and hand: perhaps a tailored sleeve attached to a coat, like the PERSIAN **kandys**, or tunic, like tragic STAGE COSTUME. Certainly an ultra-long sleeve, as used in the presence of the Persian king; the suppliant places his arm in the sleeve but – probably – allows the excess fabric to fall over his hand.

Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.1.8.

korē, korai (G) A young woman, used in art-historical studies for ARCHAIC and early CLASSICAL sculptures of young women (e.g. Athenian Acropolis – group of large statues discovered in 1896, used as landfill north-west of the Erechtheum after the PERSIAN destruction in 480 BC – also Ionia). They may reflect the change in FASHION from DORIC to IONIAN styles: often shown wearing a **peplos**, but more commonly a full-length pleated LINEN **chitōn** fastened at the shoulders and SLEEVES with BUTTONS (cf. Fig. 11). In addition, the **korai** often wear **himatidaria** draped diagonally across the torso, an **epiblēma** draped over the shoulders, or an **ependytēs**. All of these garments are decorated with patterns, either COLOURED borders, or ornaments scattered over larger surfaces: some of the statues still have traces of paint.

A **korē** commonly lifts a portion of her **chitōn** in a delicate GESTURE emphasizing good breeding and FEMININITY. The average **korē** also wears elaborate JEWELLERY: necklaces, bracelets earrings and a **stephanē**. No Athenian **korē** ever wears a VEIL, although the Ionian **korai** may have worn veils with **polos** headdresses. Instead, Athenian **korai** sport long elaborate HAIR-STYLEs of wavy tresses: these might, in life, have been created using hairpieces or WIGs. **Korai** generally wear SANDALS with relief or painted straps. Occasionally **korai** are BAREFOOT. The sculptured dress of the **korai** seems especially prone to artistic contortions, not necessarily reflective of how clothing was worn in daily life: for instance, seen from behind they are less heavily clothed than they otherwise appear – the thin linen of the **chitōn** is rendered as a skintight body stocking, affording an uninterrupted, EROTICIZED view of their buttocks and legs.

Harrison (1991: 217–39).

korus (G) A military HELMET.

Iliad 11.351; Euripides, *Bacchae* 1186.

kosmos, kosmarkhēs (G) A complex term meaning community, civil order and adornment; but also generally clothing and MAKE-UP – ‘cosmetics’ – and the concepts of ornamentation and DECORATION.

Iliad 4.187; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 72, 76; Herodotus, 4.180; Plato, *Republic* 373c.

kothornos (G) BOOTS or BUSKINS, worn in daily life, but especially as part of tragic STAGE COSTUME for actors playing heroes, cf. **cothurnus**. These boots came to SYMBOLIZE tragedy and are often worn by Dionysus, the god of dramatic performance, in art (Fig. 39).

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 657; *Frogs* 47, 557.

kraspedon (G) A PATTERNED, COLOURED or FRINGED BORDER on e.g. **peplos** or **himation**.

Gospel of St. Matthew 9.20; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 475.

krēdemnon (G) A woman's VEIL, literally ‘head-binder’, but not a FILLET, since the sources clarify that it is placed *over* the head not bound *around it*. Probably best regarded as a head-veil, hanging from the back of the head and covering the back and shoulders – whether to the ground, or even trailing on the floor, is uncertain – cf. **epiblema**. It could be drawn forward to cover the lower face when necessary, but was not exclusively a face-veil. The **krēdemnon** was seemingly a particularly fine or luxurious garment, for in epic tradition its BRIGHTNESS is constantly referenced, especially its shining quality (*lip-aro-krēdemnos*, ‘shining veil’). **Krēdemnon** also translates as ‘city walls’, ‘towers’, or ‘battlements’, suggesting the SYMBOLIC importance of the female veil in Greek life.

Iliad 14.184, 16.100, 22.470, *Odyssey* 1.334; Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 1490; Lewellyn-Jones (2003).

krekadia (G) A type of FABRIC, perhaps TAPESTRY, see **kekō**.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1215; Barber (1991: 273).

kekō (G) To beat the WEFT home, so to WEAVE – also used of playing stringed instruments.

Sappho, 90; Euripides, *Electra* 542; Barber (1991: 274); Aristophanes, *Birds* 682.

krēpis (G) A LEATHER BOOT, reaching to the knee or shin, used by SOLDIERS and in HUNTING dress. Despite these MASCULINE connotations, the **krēpis** could, in WHITE leather, also be regarded as EFFEMINATE.

Theocritus, 1.5.6; Xenophon, *On Hunting* 12.10; Theophrastus, *Characters* 2.7.

krokē (G) Thread; specifically the WEFT (Fig. 25).

Herodotus, 2.35; Plato, *Politics* 282d.

krokopeplos (G) With SAFFRON **peplos** or VEIL: common epithet for Dawn in Homer.

Iliad 8.1, 19.1; Alcman, 85A; Hesiod, *Theogony* 273, 358.

krokos (G) SAFFRON; DYES deep ORANGE-YELLOW, with warm hints of the red end of the colour spectrum: obtained from CROCUS stamens, saffron dyes vary in depth of hue, depending on sub-species and growing conditions. It is the colour of the clothing of the Dawn, of the Muses, and of Dionysus: sometimes found worn by men, it is overwhelmingly linked to women and to girls, e.g. playing the parts of ‘Little Bears’ at BRAURON dressed, at one stage of the rituals, in short tunics (**chitōniskoi**) dyed **krokos**. The link between **krokos** and the female might be partially explained by the magico-medical properties connected with the crocus flower: saffron is (still) a medicine against menstrual ills, and might therefore have been considered an appropriate symbol to signify a change in female social status. A large MINOAN fresco from Thera, commonly interpreted as depicting a puberty ritual, shows women and girls of various ages collecting saffron-stamens and offering them to a seated goddess: dedications of

krokos-coloured **peploi** to Athena are probably the direct descendants of an ancient Aegean custom. **Krokos** was an expensive commodity, used only for the best clothing: COSTLY sexy dresses of women of leisure (**krokōtos**) or to honour a goddess. It was also an appropriate colour for BRIDAL attire, especially the bridal **VEIL**.

Iliad 14.348; Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 6; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 46, *Lysistrata* 645; Llewellyn-Jones (2003); Dalby (2000).

krokōtophoros, **krokotophoreō** (G) Wearing the **krokōtos**, cf. **melanophoros**.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.785e; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 44, 219.

krokōtos (G) Saffron-coloured; a SAFFRON-DYED garment. Generally FEMININE: part of women's cosmetic arsenal for the sex war. Males wearing it have doubtful MASCULINITY or an undeniably feminine demeanour: in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria* (940–5), Euripides' male in-law is horrified by his impending shame: dressed in a **krokos**-coloured gown, he will be strapped to a board and displayed in public. In the same play, the poet Agathon is decked out in all the correct feminine accoutrements, including the obligatory **krokōtos** (138).

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 44–51, *Assemblywomen*, 879; Araros, 4 cf. Callixinus, 2.

krokus (G) The NAP on FABRIC, raised in FULLING, cf. **krokē**.

Herodotus, 3.8; Barber (1991: 273).

kteis, **ktenos** (G) Comb, specifically used for a comb in the LOOM, keeping the WARP threads separate.

Greek Anthology 247 (Philippus Epigrammaticus).

ktenistēs (G) A HAIRSTYLIST.

Galen, 13.1038; *Papyrus Tebtunis* 322.23 (second century AD).

ktenōtos (G) A rayed or spiky BORDER (Fig. 37) from **ktenos**, characteristic of **chitōniskoi** at BRAURON.

IG II² 1514.7, etc.; Cleland (2005b); Miller (1997: 177) cf. Barber (1991: 275).

kyaneos (G) A dark glossy BLUE (e.g. lapis lazuli, copper carbonate) or dark, e.g. MOURNING VEIL of Thetis.

Iliad 24.94.

kyneē (G) Dog-skin, used for making SOLDIERS' caps, hence also HELMET, or caps in general, and ATHENA's MYTHIC helmet of invisibility.

Iliad 10.257, *Odyssey* 24.231; Herodotus, 2.151, 7.77; Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 390.

kypassis (G) A short TUNIC to mid-thigh: worn by men and women.

Alcaeus, 15.6; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 519; *Greek Anthology* 6.202 (Leonidas) cf. 272 (Perses).

L

lacerna (L) A CLOAK worn by both sexes, initially over the TUNIC and **toga** (later over tunic alone), in common use by the mid-first century AD. As an outdoor garment it seems to have been associated with civilians not MILITARY, and used especially as a raincoat. **Lacernae** were APPROPRIATE wear at the theatre, amphitheatre or circus, but Cicero implies that wearing them *instead of* the **toga** was INAPPROPRIATE for a Roman man of rank (*Philippic* 2.30.76). Later sources suggest that this idea persisted among those who adhered strictly to traditional dress codes, but in practice **lacernae** seem to have been widely adopted by all ranks, and made in a variety of qualities and COLOURS, from untreated, undyed wool to very expensive PURPLE. WHITE was usual at the games, and Martial criticizes wearing BLACK or DULL-coloured **lacernae** (4.2, 1.96, 14.135[137]). The actual form of the **lacerna** is not so well attested: apparently similar to the **chlamys**, fastened by a BROOCH – probably on the right shoulder, but possibly the breast – it does not appear to have been fastened or SEWN down the front, or HOODED (cf. **paenula**), and so could be thrown back over the shoulders. It was probably normally knee-length, or longer, may have had a curved lower edge, and is difficult to distinguish from other types of cloak in the pictorial record.

Propertius, 3.12.7; Pliny, *NH* 18.60.225; Juvenal, 9.28–30; colours, Martial, 2.46, 13.87, 14.131–3, 8.10; Goldman (1994: 229, 232, fig. 13.21); Wilson (1938: 117–24); Kolb (1973: 69–167).

lachnē (G) Soft woolly HAIR, or down: e.g. first BEARD; soft NAP of cloth; animal hair or FUR; or WOOL.

Odyssey 11.320, 10.134; Nicander, *Theraca* 690; wool, Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 690.

lacinia (L) Edge of a garment, in particular the points of the **toga** hanging between the feet at front and back.

Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.3, *Claudius* 15.3.

laena (L) A heavy CLOAK of ETRUSCAN origin (cf. **chlaina**), shaped like the **toga**, but worn with the ends thrown back over both shoulders and pinned at the back. It was a traditional Roman RITUAL garment worn by the **flamines** while SACRIFICING and by Augurs, but also an everyday garment, thick, woollen and highly-COLOURED, the equivalent of two togas. Described as **toga duplex**, **amictus rotundus** (Servius, *In Aeneidem* 4.262), its exact form is unclear – possibly circular (folded in half) or semi-circular. The **Flamen** in Fig. 18 wears a capacious garment with a curved edge hanging down at the front and fabric over both arms, consistent with a semi-circular shape. The **laena** continues to be

mentioned in late imperial literature, but was perhaps never particularly popular.

Cicero, *Brutus* 15.56; Persius, 1.32; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.133.

laiai, leiai (G) Stones used as weights to tauten the WARP of the warp-weighted LOOM (Fig. 25).

Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* 717a35; 787b2.

lakonikai (G) SPARTAN-style SHOES, worn by men.

Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1158, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 142.

lampros (G) BRIGHT or brilliant (cf. **toga candida**), like **anthinos**, emphasizes the VALUE of highly visible dress.

Odyssey 19.234; Herodotus, 4.64; Polybius, 10.5.1.

lana (L) WOOL (cf. **lachnē**), also working wool, things resembling wool. Notably **lana aurea**, the golden fleece (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.876) and proverbially, ‘thinking about her wool’, i.e. unconcerned.

Livy, 1.57.9; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.31; Ovid, *Art of Love* 2.686.

lanam carere, trahere, deducere (L) To CARD WOOL.

Plautus, *Menaechmi* 5.2.797; Juvenal, 2.54; 7.224.

lanas ducere (L) To SPIN WOOL.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.34.

lanificium, lanificus (L) Literally, working WOOL, i.e. SPINNING or WEAVING.

Plautus, *Mercator* 3.1.520; Suetonius, *Augustus* 64.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.6; FATES, Martial, 6.58.7.

lanipendia, lanipendius (L) Someone who weighs out WOOL, i.e. for SPINNING.

Scholliast on Juvenal 6.476.

lasion (G) A garment of rough, shaggy or woolly fabric, see WEFT-LOOPING.

Sappho, 89; Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 184.

LATE ANTIQUITY Roman clothing and attitudes toward dress evolved constantly, and the clothing of the early and late empire was distinctive in several ways (Figs 8, 24, 47). The old ideals of restraint and modesty in dress, using understated and subtle status indicators, were replaced by conspicuous STATUS display through costume: whereas early emperors were criticized for wearing excessively expensive clothing, later emperors were praised for such splendour – lavishness of display became regarded as an appropriate expression of power. Jewels, GOLD, EMBROIDERED FIGURATIVE decoration on clothes, PEARLS, PURPLE and SILKS in generous quantities were all de rigueur, and there were increasing attempts to make the imperial family stand out by restricting what others could wear. People of high rank expected to show off their position and wealth through their clothing, with a general trend towards more heavily decorated garments and larger and more conspicuous JEWELLERY. This prompted a backlash among various CHRISTIAN writers, who exhorted Christians to revert to more modest dress in terms very similar to earlier moralists (e.g. Seneca).

There were also other changes: in general, a move towards more fitted, SEWN – as opposed to DRAPED – clothes. The widespread appearance of longer TUNICS with long SLEEVES suggests rejection of earlier prejudices against such tunics as EFFEMINATE. The late third to fourth centuries also saw a fashion for wearing two tunics simultaneously, long with tight-fitting long sleeves, under a shorter one with short, wide, or no sleeves (Fig. 24). Worn with a cloak by the elite, these came to be an acceptable alternative to the toga – which continued to be worn into the fifth century, albeit in a rather different form and only for official ceremonies. The **dalmaticus** was a

long-sleeved tunic, worn by non-elite members of society, especially Christians, from the late second century AD onward and particularly popular in the fourth. Decoration of garments also develops: earlier imperial tunics had only the ubiquitous vertical STRIPES, but by the late third century tunics had oval patches on the shoulders, and TAPESTRY-woven BANDS, often purple and WHITE (e.g. Fig. 47 and various surviving EGYPTIAN examples). CLOAKS, too, could be decorated, at first with simple H- or L-shapes or swastikas, but by the mid-sixth century courtiers' cloaks had the **tablion**, a square panel placed obliquely on the cloak, visible at the front (Fig. 8, Justinian). Taste for highly COLOURED patterns emerges in the mid-fourth century AD – seen e.g. on the marble intarsia image of Junius Bassus from his basilica in Rome and fifth- to sixth-century ivory diptychs.

Some of these changes in dress result from the increasing importance of the military in imperial power structures: military-style cloaks, fastened by crossbow **fibulae** increasingly replaced the **toga** for civilian officials. Others were brought about by the introduction of garments and styles from the provinces: long sleeves and tapestry-woven decoration probably came from the east and various cloaks originally designed to cope with colder climates came from the northern provinces (**sagum**, **cucullus**, **birrus** and **caracalla**), as did the crossbow **fibula**. Fashions and garments (e.g. TROUSERS) previously considered BARBARIAN gradually became more acceptable: the costume APPROPRIATE for the elite in the sixth century AD would have seemed alien and barbaric to a Roman of the first century.

Claudian, *Honorius* (4th consulship) 585–600; Harlow (2005: 143–53); James and Tougher (2005: 154–61).

LAUREL WREATHS of laurel or bay leaves were worn for celebrating a TRIUMPH: laurel was one of the honours given to Julius Caesar as a perpetual triumphator



Figure 24 Statue of a magistrate, Capitoline Museums, Rome, c. AD 400: LATE ANTIQUE form of **toga** over two long, long-SLEEVED tunics.

by the Senate and people – the ribbon-bound wreath placed on his statue caused offence only because the WHITE ribbon implied kingship. Augustus was also awarded the right to wear a laurel wreath, which subsequently became part of the imperial INSIGNIA, often worn by emperors on coins.

Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.2, 79.1.

LAWS, ROMAN Rules about what must or cannot be worn are common mechanisms of social control, but tend to be ineffective unless backed by public opinion and social approval. Roman law made numerous attempts to control various kinds of clothing, only some of which are recorded in the surviving codes (cf. CLOTHING REGULATIONS, Greece). These mostly fall into two broad categories: SUMPTUARY LAWS designed to prevent certain groups of

people from wearing or using LUXURY materials – especially GOLD, PURPLE and SILK – and laws designed to enforce particular forms of dress on people in certain circumstances – generally the elite, while in Rome. The earliest recorded sumptuary law occurs in the *Twelve Tables* (c. 450 BC), limiting the use of purple, gold and WREATHS at funerals. The *Lex Oppia* (215 BC) limited the amount of gold women could wear to half an ounce: unsurprisingly unpopular, it was repealed in 195 BC. Various emperors – starting with Julius Caesar – attempted to limit the wearing of COSTLY clothing, in particular purple, to prevent the emperor being outshone in splendid apparel, and complex regulations about the wearing of purple DYES and silk were still being enacted by the emperors of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Augustus began a trend of emperors dictating appropriate citizen dress – the *toga*, not less formal clothing – for the forum and theatre. Subsequent emperors continued this, sometimes apparently at a whim: Commodus ordered spectators at the games to wear the *paenula*, while Severus Alexander allowed old men to wear the *paenula* in the city in cold weather, implying the existence of previous legislation against it. Imperial concern with what citizens wore in Rome continued at least into the late fourth century: the Theodosian code (14.10.1, AD 382) records a ruling forbidding senators to wear MILITARY dress in the city – they could wear a *paenula* and a TUNIC, but for official business still had to wear the *toga* – while 14.10.2 (AD 397) forbids the wearing of *braccae* in Rome – with strict penalties. Not all laws concerning clothing were designed to prohibit or enforce the wearing of certain types of clothing: the Digest attempts to define APPROPRIATE clothing for men, women, CHILDREN and SLAVES, while the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN attempted to control prices for various types of clothing at the beginning of the fourth century AD.

Livy, 34.1–8 (debate on repeal of *Lex Oppia*); Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 43, *Augustus* 40.5, 44.2; *Code of Theodosius* 10.20.18; 10.21.3; *of Justinian* 4.40.1; SHA *Commodus* 16.6, *Severus Alexander* 27.4.

LEATHER Cured or TANNED animal SKIN: a wide variety of processes were used to create different effects, united by the same two basic aims – to prevent the material rotting, and combine a degree of flexibility with durability. Leather had a huge range of clothing uses in antiquity, primarily SHOES, HATS and BELTS, but also CLOAKS, HELMETS and ARMOUR. As a relatively elastic material, it was often also used for laces and straps (*himas*). The earliest forms of leather working probably did not involve tanning, being – like Native American buckskin – cured using various combinations of animal fats, brains and smoke, with very extensive working by hand to ensure flexibility. Both curing and tanning begin by scraping all the membrane from the raw skin. In tanning, the skin is then immersed in an acid solution which arrests natural decay, before being worked for flexibility and WATERPROOFED – using oil or fat. Different qualities come not only from processing, but also animal origin: horse and cow hide are particularly thick, while the skins of other animals range in thickness, the finest being those of young animals, reptiles and fish. It is probable that all sources were used in Greek and Roman times, but the skins of domesticated animals – SHEEP, but also dogs – were most commonly used. Sealskin, if properly treated, is particularly waterproof.

In the Greek world, leather seems to have had a specific RITUAL significance: many CLOTHING REGULATIONS prohibit leather – presumably ritually impure due to its connection with death – unless prepared from the hides of sacrificed animals – often given to the officiating priest. Leather had special value as a material that could be moulded, e.g. for the ‘muscle CUIRASS’ – LAMELLAR ARMOUR may also have been

made of small pieces of leather – and was also used for garments designed to keep out the weather, especially appropriate for COUNTRY labourers and HUNTSMEN. Surviving leather remains have been found in both the wet conditions of the northern frontier of the Roman empire (e.g. Vindonissa, Vindolanda) and the dry conditions of EGYPT: most are various forms of SHOE, both soles and uppers, worn by soldiers and civilians. Remains of other garments include two examples of BIKINI-style pants from London. The Roman world also provides evidence for an extensive and well-organized leather industry: archaeological and literary sources (Juvenal, 14.203) show that tanneries were confined to the outskirts of towns – because of the smell – and inscriptions attest to organized guilds of leather workers.

Forbes (1966: 1–79); *aluta*, *anupodēteō*, *apex*, *Babylonica*, *boiae*, *bullā*, *corium*, *derma*, *dermatochitōn*, *dermatophoreō*, *diphtheria*, *embades*, *GRAIN*, *kandys*, *krēpis*, *nebridopeplos*, *paenula*, *pellis*, *RAWHIDE*, *solea*, *spolas*.

lēdos, lēdion (G) A light, therefore relatively cheap, summer dress.

Alcman, 97; IG II² 1514.45; *lēdarion*, Menander, 1028; Clearchus, 25.

LEGGINGS AND LEG WRAPPINGS The Romans did not wear long TROUSERS, but COUNTRY workers and HUNTSMEN might wear material wrapped round the lower or upper leg – either pieces of cloth held by ties, or bandages wound round the leg, see *fasciae*, *fasciolae*. The best evidence is pictorial (e.g. Fig. 9, 47). In the later empire, various kinds of leggings were worn, including hose with integral feet. Knee-length stockings were also found in a woman's grave at Les Martres-de-Veyre near Clermont Ferrand: these were made of WOVEN cloth SEWN up the back and held up by garters, but other techniques – such as KNITTING or SPRANG – were perhaps used for fitted leggings represented in art.

Cicero, *Soothsayers* 21.44; Juvenal, 6.263.

legnon, legnōtos (G) The COLOURED edging or BORDER on a garment, perhaps also a FRINGE, parallel to the SELVAGE, see *ōa*; also a garment with such a border.

Pollux, 7.26; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 12.

lēnos (G) WOOL, and so FILLET, or in plural, fleece.

Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 44.

leukos (G) WHITE. One of the few unambiguous Greek colour terms (cf. *melas*), this included all light colours, not simply pure white. It is often tacitly assumed that most Greek clothing was white, but both the simple physical constraints of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE and MAINTENANCE, and a wide variety of sources – including Attic white-ground POTTERY, the BRAURON catalogues, and requirements of white as RITUAL dress – indicate otherwise. White has clear connotations of purity in Greek dress, but was also an indicator of STATUS, probably especially as combined with BRIGHTLY-coloured PATTERN.

Cleland (2003, forthcoming b); Aristophanes, *Birds* 1116; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 353; Euripides, *Alceste* 922–3.

licium (1) (L) The HEDDLE string – by extension WEAVING – often used in charms and spells, cf. *mitos*.

Ovid, *Fasti* 3.267; 2.575; Virgil, *Georgics* 1.285, *Eclogues* 8.74; Barber (1991: 267).

licium (2) (L) A small GIRDLE, a BELT around the stomach, or perhaps a LOINCLOTH to cover the private parts. According to the *Twelve Tables* (LAWS c. 450 BC) in searching a house for stolen property *per licium* the accuser wore this instead of his usual garments, to prevent him deceitfully hiding objects in his clothes.

Aulus Gellius, 11.18.9; 12. 3.3; Festus, 117.

lictors (L) Attendants on Roman magistrates, who carried the *fascēs* symbolic of

executive power. As civilian public servants they wore ordinary dress and **perones**, not military **caligae**, except when attending the emperor or magistrates carrying out military duties in the field, when they wore a **RED sagulum**. Aulus Gellius suggests their name came from the **limus** or **licium** they wore.

12.3.3; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 9.420–1.

liknon (G) A winnowing FAN, perhaps also the wicker fans used by women in the ‘Tanagra’ statuettes (Fig. 16).

Greek Anthology 6.165.

limbus (L) General term for a BORDER, hem, SELVAGE, or FRINGE; also a head-covering, BELT, band or GIRDLE.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.137; Nonius, 869L.

limus (L) A garment, or tie (**cinctus**), worn across the body *transversus*, possibly diagonally. It seems to have been associated with public servants (**lictors**), and might refer to the APRON-like garment worn by the *popa* – official who dispatched animals at SACRIFICES.

Servius, *In Aeneidem* 12.120; Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.26, 19.33.4; Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.120.

linamentum (L) LINEN, from **linum**, also lint.

Columella, 6.11.1.

LINEN Any FABRIC made from FLAX fibres. Linen thread is relatively smooth and brittle, compared to the kinked elasticity of WOOL, and can be SPUN very fine. It produces a fabric which dries quickly, and is renowned as cool to wear in hot climates. Throughout the Middle Ages, linen was generally used for inner garments, while outer garments were WOOLLEN, primarily because linen is much easier to wash and dry: the same practical distinction probably obtained in antiquity. Linen is much more difficult to DYE than

wool, which partly explains the popularity of COTTON – takes dye easily – in the later Roman period. However, as well as its various natural COLOURS in the blonde, cream to grey range – enhanced or modified during FIBRE processing – linen also BLEACHES well, and its natural shine can be enhanced by ‘polishing’. The relative length of flax fibres – actually short fibres naturally joined end to end, so requiring less overlapping – mean that linen thread can be spun very fine, while its slipperiness means that it can be WOVEN closely.

The diaphanous or transparent garments depicted in HELLENISTIC art are often argued to be necessarily made of SILK, but may rather have been of fine linen from high quality production (see **amorgos**). The finest linen fabrics of antiquity were EGYPTIAN, formed from individual flax fibres spliced together and given a single ply (see S-TWIST) for strength. Spinning and weaving linen thread were more time-consuming and required more delicacy than wool, while flax requires a relatively complex and environmentally sensitive preparation before spinning. Nevertheless, many grades of linen fabric could be created, from very fine (**amorginon**) to coarse – spun with a large proportion of the broken tow fibres, and hence scratchy, **stuppinon**. Blends of wool and linen were probably also used, either spun together, or combined in weaving, to achieve fabrics with median properties, either in order to alter the GRAIN of the cloth, or to make it amenable to dyes. Certainly in Roman times linen and cotton blends were common (**carbasesus**). Some garments (e.g. **kalasiris**, **sindōnitas**, **subucula**, **supparum**) were characteristically made of linen, and it is possible that one of the primary distinctions between the **chitōn**, and the **peplos** it replaced, was being linen not WOOL. Linen was known in Europe, including Italy, from prehistoric times – remains in ETRUSCAN tombs show its use there by the seventh century BC: the Etruscans probably both imported linen

from Egypt and grew and processed their own. Important linen industries developed all over the Roman world: at Syracuse, in Spain, Gaul and at several sites in the east – including Damascus and Berytus.

Van Wees (2005: 44–54); Barber (1991: 14–15, etc.); amiculum, apodesmos, byssinos, diadēma, ependytēs, heanos, kandys, kimberikon, klōthō, lineos, linteo, sindōn, stēmōn.

lineos, linos, linous (G) Made of FLAX or of LINEN.

Herodotus, 1.195, 3.47, 7.36; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 19, 206; Aristotle, *History of Animals* 616a6.

li(n)gula (L) The ‘tongue’ of a SHOE.

Juvenal, 5.20; Martial, 2.29.7.

linon, linea (G) Anything of FLAX or LINEN.

Odyssey 13.73, 3.118; Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 121, 132; Pausanias, 1.26.7.

linteo (L) A LINEN seller or WEAVER.

Plautus, *Aulularia* 3.5.512.

linum (L) A thread, LINEN cloth or garment.

Ovid, *Fasti* 5.519.

LITERARY SOURCES FOR CLOTHING Almost all ancient literature contains some references to clothing, but this is a somewhat problematic source: literary references tend to be either incidental – a single item or quality of dress, whose wider implications were understood at the time, but cannot now be deduced – or hyperbolic. Such exaggerated references are generally easier to understand, but reliance on them leads to grossly distorted impressions of the spectrum of ancient clothing forms and meanings; in addition, the most comprehensive descriptions of dress tend to occur in historical biographies – real or semi-legendary figures – or descriptions of foreigners. In both cases the everyday and exotic are mixed with more regard for

creating the appropriate meaning for the ancient reader than any form of accuracy. The dress of such figures – especially in Roman literature – is often invested with moral significance, and so constructed to reinforce ‘character’. Such problems are compounded by the general scarcity of literary sources covering any given period, since multiple accounts would be easier to unpick for ‘real’ dress habits. Literature nevertheless remains a vital source for ancient dress, precisely because of its manipulation in this way: dress in literature is an integral part of complex constructions of social reality – far more so than art, epigraphy or archaeology. Thus it is particularly important to consider how each author appears to use this attribute of character overall, and to compare like – period or genre – with like (see **TRAGEDY**). Literary descriptions cannot be accepted at face value: each reference almost certainly incorporates assumptions more subtle than bias. For a wide spectrum of approaches to clothing in literary sources, see various articles in Cleland *et al.* (2005).

LITERATURE, CLOTHING IN ROMAN Roman literature included books specifically devoted to dress and clothing, but unfortunately Suetonius’ *On Types of Clothing* and Maecenas’ *On his Own Style* are both lost, and Tertullian’s extant *On the Pallium* is concerned with more wide-ranging issues. Other writers considered the meanings and origins of words, including clothing terms: Varro’s Augustan *Latin Language* is one of the earliest; Festus (second century AD) also preserved the work of earlier antiquarian scholars. Other writers who took an antiquarian or encyclopaedic approach include Nonius (fourth century AD) and Isidore of Seville (seventh century), while Servius wrote a commentary on Virgil’s *Aeneid*, explaining the text to his fourth-century contemporaries, and Aulus Gellius preserved many valuable anecdotes in *Attic Nights*. (These efforts are paralleled in Greek

culture by the lexicographers, especially Pollux, and the wide variety of Scholiasts annotating earlier texts.) In a class of its own is Pliny's *Natural History*: this collection of facts and ideas about natural materials, science and art includes a variety of subjects relevant to clothing.

All of these authors were interested in the archaic traditions of Rome, and tend to foreground the obscure or unusual, paying less attention to mundane and contemporary aspects of clothing. These are far more likely to be revealed by love poetry, satire and comedy, found scattered in Plautus (third century BC), Ovid, Horace and Propertius (Augustan), and Martial and Juvenal (later first century AD). Similarly, information appears in various histories (e.g. Livy, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus), perhaps the richest historical source being Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* (early second century AD) and its continuation by the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (SHA) describing later reigns: these contain many anecdotes – not necessarily true – concerning emperors and their dress. Suetonius in particular uses comments on clothing in character sketches of the emperors, in the tradition of earlier writers who saw morals and manners as closely linked. Study of Cicero – especially the forensic speeches – reveals contemporary attitudes to and prejudices against dress used to characterize his subjects. Seneca also occasionally expresses strong views on dress, and many later CHRISTIAN writers also wrote about dress and bodily adornment in very similar moralistic terms.

Quintilian, (later first century AD) also expresses strong views on APPROPRIATE forms of dress – and ways of wearing them – for contemporary orators, revealing the strict and complex dress code that applied to elite Roman men of the time. Finally, also useful are various less obviously 'literary' texts: the codes which collect LAWS and edicts made over the years; the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN (AD 301) listing the maximum prices to be charged for various commodities in the Roman empire,

including clothing; and inscriptions and private letters. These last two categories occasionally provide information about other areas of the empire and other social groups: literature generally is biased towards the city of Rome and the higher ranks of Roman society, and, of course, it expresses male views even – perhaps especially – when discussing women's clothing.

Heskel (1994: 133–45); Bender (1994: 146–52).

litos (G) Plain, cheap or unadorned.

Menander, 633; Athenaeus, 5.191f; *chitōn*, IG II² 1524B.211.

LOINCLOTH A cloth covering the genitals, worn draped round the hips in a variety of ways (*campestre*, *perizoma*, *subligaculum*, *zōster*), worn on its own by ATHLETES, workmen, SLAVES, fishermen, and as the RITUAL costume of the *luperci*, or sometimes underneath a tunic by HUNTSMEN, SOLDIERS and ACTORS. An elaborately DRAPED and DECORATED loincloth formed part of the costume of GLADIATORS (Fig. 20). However, the loincloth does not appear to have been a regular form of UNDERWEAR for either men or women.

LOOM A variety of loom types were used in the Greek and Roman periods. EGYPTIAN textiles were generally produced on a horizontal ground loom: stretching the WARP between two beams, often set up outside. (The horizontal arrangement probably evolved from the very earliest looms, backstrap looms suitable only for relatively narrow textiles: one end of the warp was attached to a bar bound to the body, the other to a tree or some other fixed point, and tension created or adjusted by the posture of the weaver.) The width of textile produced on the horizontal ground loom was set by the weavers' reach across the warp, so wide textiles were usually woven by two people. However, the horizontal set-up meant that the opening of the

sheds was entirely manual, and not assisted by gravity (see WEAVING).

The warp-weighted loom, however, was a vertical loom of two uprights, joined at the top by a single beam – no bottom beam, the warp was tautened by LOOM WEIGHTS. Probably common throughout early Europe, it was used in early Rome and was, until recently, in everyday use in Norway (Figs 25, 26). This has helped us to understand many of its details: perhaps the primary advantage is that it can be dismantled and stored in a compact space; the corollary is that it can be very wide, and therefore produce remarkably broad single pieces of cloth – and narrow ones, if the warp is so set. It has two other advantages over the horizontal loom: set at an angle, not absolutely vertical, gravity helps to open the sheds; and, a single weaver can make a very wide textile by walking back and forth – easier than swapping sides on the horizontal loom. However, some representations suggest that two women would work at the same time anyway. Its disadvantage was that the WEFT had to be beaten upwards against gravity. The top, or cloth, beam could be rotated to maintain the working edge at a convenient

height, and to produce very long cloths, but the weights would then have to be moved on the looped extra length of warp. This type of loom is physically very simple, complex weaves being determined entirely by the setup of the warp. The same loom could therefore, with no extra difficulty, be used to produce a wide variety of textile types and sizes, and was especially suited to the home production of woven-to-shape garments.

Roman textiles were traditionally produced on the warp-weighted loom, but by the imperial period the Romans had adopted the two-beam vertical loom from their provinces in the near east. Weaving on this loom began at the bottom, and the weft was beaten down. Finished cloth could be wound on the bottom bar, and extra warp for long textiles looped over and behind the top bar, without the necessity of time-consuming movement of weights. This type of loom also allowed the weaving of tubular textiles. All these looms were worked using a variety of ancillary tools, primarily the three bars: the shed bar, which sat within the warp, and opened the first group of alternate threads; the HEDDLE bar, to which the second group were attached, sitting above or in front of the

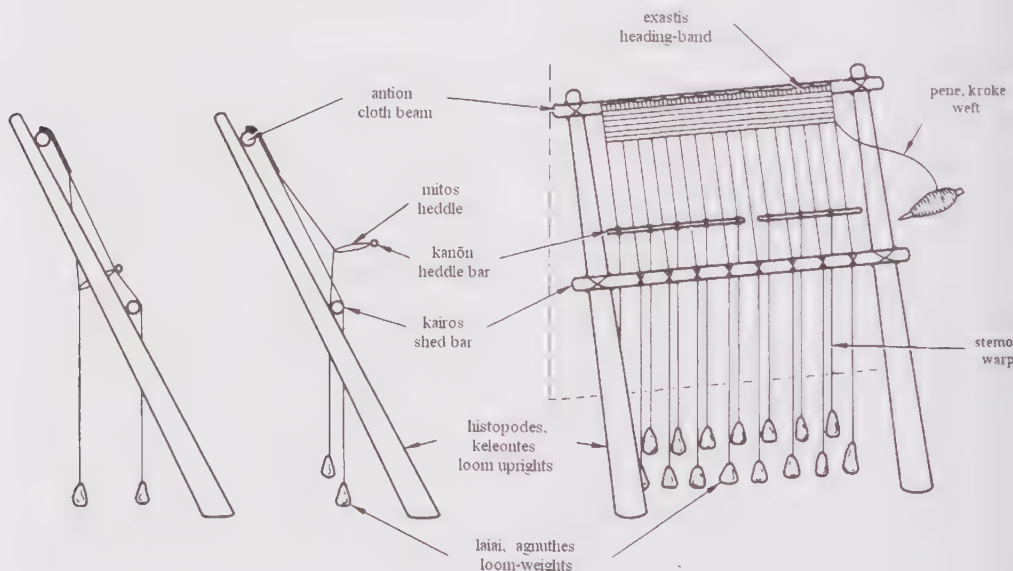


Figure 25 Diagram of warp-weighted LOOM, adapted from Barber (1991).

warp; and the weft beater, which was inserted into each shed to compress each line of weft. SHUTTLES, skeins or spools were used to pass the weft between the threads.

antion, ephyphē, histos etc., hyphē, insubulum, jugum, kairos, keleontes, kerkis, kteis, stēmōn, tela.

LOOM WEIGHT Until the HELLENISTIC period most Greek textiles were made on the warp-weighted LOOM, a vertical loom in which the threads of the WARP are held taut by weights of stone or clay attached to their ends (agnuthes, laiai, Figs 23, 25, 26). These are ARCHAEOLOGICALLY important because they survive well, unlike the wooden beams and textile parts of the loom. Weights are sometimes found in

positions suggesting where the loom was used – looms might be dismantled for storage – allowing some deductions to be made about WEAVING practices, e.g. many finds indicate that weaving often took place upstairs. In other instances, they simply allow us to identify where weaving took place, and the number of looms in likely use.

lōpē, lōpos (G) A covering or MANTLE. Like epiblēma, used for both garments, and textiles such as bedspreads or other forms of furnishing – given the CONSTRUCTION of Greek garments, the same textile might be used for different purposes over time.

Odyssey 13.224; Theocritus, 14.66, 25.254; Scheid and Svenbro (1992).



Figure 26 PENELOPE and Telemachos at warp-weighted LOOM. Pleated linen IONIC chitōn, plain woollen himation used as VEIL. Large himation. Loom construction clear, including LOOM WEIGHTS, FIGURED, PATTERNED textile.

loramentum (L) A thong for tying the SHOE.

lorica (L) Body ARMOUR. Three specific types are scale or lamellar armour (*lorica squamata*), mail armour (*lorica hamata*) and the *lorica segmentata*, a form of plate armour made of strips or plates of iron curved around the body and hinged and fastened with straps. This last type appears to have been associated especially with legionary soldiers on Trajan's column, where it distinguishes them from auxiliary infantry and cavalry, but this distinction may not have been as clear cut in practice.

luna (L) A crescent-shaped decoration attached to the straps (*corrigiae*) of a **calceus**, a sign of high STATUS, worn specifically by patricians, but not represented on any extant artistic images of calcei.

Juvenal, 7.192; Isidore, *Origins* 19.34.4.

lunula (L) An AMULETIC necklace, crescent moon-shaped, worn by girls and women.

Plautus, *Epidicus* 5.1.639.

luperci (L) Participants in the Lupercalia festival wore only GOATSKIN LOINCLOTHS, and so were **nudus**.

Cicero, *Philippic* 3.5.12, 2.43.111.

luteus (L) Golden-, SAFFRON- or ORANGE-YELLOW (cf. **flavus**, **croceus**) associated especially with the dress of Roman BRIDES (**flammeum**, **reticulum**, **socci**, Pliny says it was only used for these *NH* 21.22.46). There has been considerable debate and disagreement about its exact hue. Latin colour terms, although somewhat more intuitively clear to English speakers than Greek, nevertheless often seem to be ill-defined: these three yellow terms are

representative. However, although **luteus** is used of a wide variety of objects, it most probably refers in textiles to the colour produced by weld, the dyeplant that still bears its name.

Pliny, *NH* 10.74.148; Nonius, 881L; Eco (1985: 157–75).

LUXURY Often expressed via FABRICS and materials: fine LINENS from Egypt, SILKS, GOLD, gemstones and PEARLS, above all the best PURPLE dye, were all classic luxury items, intermittently addressed by Roman LAW. Pliny (*NH* 33) expresses particular concern at growing luxury in personal display, and its damaging effect on the Roman economy and society. Luxury was also a feature of Greek dress, but shows, like most aspects of Greek clothing compared to Roman, less moral import and overt meaning. Luxurious materials, BRIGHT colours and elaborate PATTERNS, seem to have been regarded as intrinsically attractive in Greek culture; but this was set against the potential social damage of being seen to over-assert STATUS, or lack self-control: these issues are most notable in Greek opinions about Alexander the Great, but can be traced much further back. A major, unambiguously positive, significance was to denote the epic, tragic or divine context. Such a difference of attitude between the two cultures extends beyond dress to other aspects of material culture, most noticeably, in the archaeological record, housing.

CLOTHING REGULATIONS, DEDICATIONS, SUMPTUARY LAW.

lypodyteō, **lypodytēs** (G) To steal clothes, especially from BATHERS or travellers; a CLOTHES-THIEF: extended to robbery and thieves in general, illustrating the important role of clothing as portable WEALTH.

Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.2.62.

M

MAENADS The mythic female followers of Dionysus. As liminal females they break all the conventional rules of respectable FEMININITY, dressing, at least in art, in thin flowing garments or nothing at all, with animal SKINS around their shoulders – especially fawn, **nebris**, and leopard – and WREATHS of ivy. They carry thyrsus STAFFS, and their HAIR flies free of any FILLET or VEIL.

Euripides, *Bacchae* 105–19; Kraemer (1988); *agrēnon*, *endyton*.

mafortium (L) A short **palla**, worn by women, found only in later Latin sources e.g. *PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN*.

Nonius, 869L, cf. *ricinium*.

MAGISTRATES Roman ‘curule’ or higher magistrates wore the **toga praetexta** when in Rome, but a tunic and **paludamentum** outside the city as military commanders – an alternative to the **toga** also APPROPRIATE for provincial governors.

MAINTENANCE, OF CLOTHES Time-consuming TEXTILE MANUFACTURE was not the end of the story: the results of all that labour were intended to have a long life in use, and so considerable effort went into maintaining garments and textiles. This meant caring for their FABRIC – storage folded in

the dark, dry, environment of a chest – and preserving or renewing their desired appearance, most obviously by CLEANING. Ancient garments were washed, especially the lighter, LINEN, inner garments worn close to the body, but most (WOOLLEN) outer garments, most of the time, would instead be brushed and bleached in the air and sun. This was certainly the case in the better-evidenced Middle Ages, although other practices – hanging expensive garments in the privy, for the stench to keep off moths – seem little like cleaning now.

The ancient craft of FULLING was also important to garment maintenance. As well as forming the last stage of textile manufacture – in which WHITE fabrics were BLEACHED, and various other effects such as raising, FELTING or polishing the NAP of the textile were achieved – garments would be fulled throughout their life to restore their appearance. Many of these processes might have been undertaken at home, but fulling seems to have existed throughout the Greek and Roman periods as a separate craft, justified by the special expertise of practitioners and their access to traded substances, such as fuller’s or kimolian earths. In very simple terms, fulling was simply dry cleaning, without the synthetic solvents used today. BRIGHT white garments, especially with coloured decoration, can be imagined to have been the

most difficult to maintain, since washing, bleaching and fulling to keep the white pure would have degraded the colours of many DYES.

For COLOURED garments, fading induced by cleaning or age could be remedied by overdyeing, either with the same or a darker shade, although this too would have revealed age through increasingly dark, DULL colour. Sources for dyeing with SAFFRON (E.G. WOMAN DYEING HERSELF A SEDUCTIVE SAFFRON TUNIC, ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistrata* 45–51) emphasize this aspect of maintenance. Saffron was a special case: a good (temporary) colour could be achieved simply by immersing the garment in a hot solution of the sweet-smelling spice. Other dyes required more complex, less pleasant processes, many of which could nevertheless be carried out at home, while better, brighter colours were achieved by sending the garment to a professional. Again, this emphasizes the LUXURY of coloured – as opposed to textured – PATTERNS.

In short, new garments would have been quite visually distinctive (Cleland 2005: 87–95) and the processes of maintenance would probably not have restored all their desirable qualities. This implicitly revealed WEALTH: individuals with only a few garments would necessarily find that their garments received and showed heavy use. Those with more garments could rotate them to preserve their fresh appearance. It is worth emphasizing, in a modern culture in which all but the destitute have access to many garments and everyday cleaning facilities, that ancient clothing was rarely ‘cheap’ and that most garments, however modest, represented a considerable investment of time or resources. However, people could wash their lighter garments, brush, air, and lightly bleach their heavier ones to clean them and restore the finish of the fabric, and dye or overdye them to improve appearance, or to use in a particular context, e.g. MOURNING. If more drastic improvements were required, garments could be taken to professionals,

who would employ stronger bleaches, dyes and other chemicals.

Barber (1991: 225, 236–40).

MAKE-UP ‘Cosmetic’ derives from *kosmos*, meaning order, arrangement, or display. The ordered display of beauty and its enhancement were very important to Greek and Roman women – men did pay attention to their appearance, but generally did not wear make-up as we would understand it, except coloured and perfumed body oils. ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds, artistic and LITERARY sources all point to a proliferation of products designed to beautify the face and HAIR. Greeks admired light skin, signifying breeding and beauty: the goddess Hera is ‘white-armed’ – naturally pale and lovely. Greek women’s use of cosmetics was ideally very light – Xenophon’s Ischomachus criticizes his young wife for applying too much WHITE powder and rouge (*Household Management* 10.2), although Lysias (1.14) relates that wives, leaving their husbands to visit lovers, painted themselves with cosmetics – but Greek women had access to many substances to improve their appearance and ALLURE. Honey was used as a moisturiser, olive oil to protect the skin and make it shine. Oil could be infused with scents for PERFUME, or mixed with ground charcoal for eye shadow, while ochre or *phykos* were used for rouge, or mixed with beeswax and olive oil for the lips. The face was often whitened with lead carbonate (*psimythion*), despite its toxicity.

Similarly, Roman women used *ceruse*, another white lead pigment, to lighten the face: lanolin or bear fat served as bases for pigment. Soot was so mixed for BLACK eyeliner, red ochre for cheeks and lips. Wine dregs were used as lip-colour, SAFFRON ground and applied as eyeshadow. The ideal of Roman beauty was a white face, red lips, and dark brows and lashes. As in Greece, a white face symbolized the upper-class life of leisure, indicating that a woman was not bound to labour outside in

the sun, but instead remained indoors. Ovid enumerates, lampoons and criticizes (in *Art of Beauty*) the lengths to which Roman women went to appear beautiful, but includes recipes for cosmetics and cleansing mixtures. Ancient PERSIAN, Mesopotamian, EGYPTIAN and Assyrian cultures had similar formulas and uses for cosmetics: TRADE allowed use of spices, oils and extracts from neighbouring countries, so there were similarities in cosmetic and aromatherapy formulas. It is interesting that women in the ancient world continued to use ingredients that were known to have side-effects damaging to their health.

Pomeroy (1994); Melville (1990); Thomas (2002: 1–16); Forbes (1955: 1–49).

mallos (G) WOOL, specifically a tuft, not a fleece.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 234; Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 45; Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 475.

mamillare (L) A BRASSIERE or BREASTBAND.

Martial, 14. 66.

mandua, manduē (L/G) A cloak like the *lacerna* – i.e. worn like the *chlamys*. Possibly of Parthian or Sassanian origin, associated with the east by the Romans, it is difficult to identify definitively in Roman art – perhaps worn by Parthians on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome. Later adopted by the Romans, and worn by high-ranking Byzantine magistrates and churchmen.

Pollux, 7.60; Kolb (1973: 69–167).

manica (L) SLEEVE, also an armguard worn by some Roman SOLDIERS and GLADIATORS.

Nonius, 860L.

MANTLE A generic term, often loosely used, for a piece of cloth DRAPED around the body, often lighter than a CLOAK, cf.

WRAPS. Such garments were widely worn by both men and women in the Greek, Etruscan and Roman worlds: men might wear them alone or over a TUNIC, women always wore an inner garment too, while respectable women outdoors were expected to cover their clothes with a mantle, often drawn over the head as a VEIL. Mantles came in a wide variety of shapes, sizes, COLOURS and manners of DRAPING.

abolla, amictorium, amictus, amiculum, BACKMANTLE, birrus, chlaina, chlamys, chlanis, himation, lacerna, laena, mafortium, mandua, palla/palliola, pallium, tebenna.

MANUFACTURE OF ROMAN CLOTHING Most garments were WOVEN to shape and required little further assembly – unlike today, when cloth is cut, then made up into clothes. At all periods, especially earlier, clothing was made in the home (TEXTILE MANUFACTURE) by the women and SLAVES of the household – although cloth might be sent away for FULLING or DYEING, and SHOES, etc. were made by professionals. However, not everyone had access to their own household production – and some desired things that could not be produced at home: there is evidence for commercial workshops in Classical Greece, and for an extensive and well-developed and organized clothing industry in Roman Italy and most of the PROVINCES.

As society grew more complex, the need for commercial production of clothing grew, leading to CONTRACTS for bulk-buying of clothing for the Roman army as early as the second century BC, and specialists in various kinds of clothing in the mid-republic. The largest-scale ‘industrial’ production applied particularly to the top end of the market: this can be seen in the production of fine LINEN in HELLENISTIC and Roman EGYPT, and LUXURY (e.g. Attalic) fabrics in Pergamon. Nevertheless, evidence from Egypt suggests that although large amounts of cloth were produced, this was by individual weavers, each with an individual CONTRACT with the state. Textile

production in Gaul – specializing in WOOLLEN CLOAKS – also appears to have relied on home-working rather than factory-style production. Inscriptions from Rome and other towns in the empire provide evidence for a wide range of specialist clothing makers, who were organized into guilds (*collegia*) – military boot-makers (*caligarii*), SANDAL-makers (*sandalarii*, *crepidarii*), cloak-makers (*sagarii*) and patchworkers (*centonarii*). Many of these were small tradesmen who worked alone or in small establishments, but there were also the *negotiatores* (importers) and *mercatores* (retailers) who brought clothing from other parts of the empire to put up for SALE.

Plautus, *Aulularia* 3.5.508–19; Forbes (1966: 1–80)

MANUFACTURE, OF TEXTILES See TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

MARRIAGE DRESS See BRIDE, WEDDING, PERFUME, SYMBOLISM and *flammeum*, *luteum soccum*, *ricinium*, *tunica recta*.

marsupium (L) A purse, carried in the hand or slung from a BELT.

Nonius, 206L; Plautus, *Rudens* 5.2.1313, *Epidicus* 2.2.183.

maschalistēr (G) Specifically, a girth for a horse, also any BAND encircling the body.

Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 71; Herodotus, 1.215.

MASCULINITY Modern scholarship tends to focus on the construction of FEMININITY in the ancient world, but many SOURCES suggest that masculinity was highly and overtly socially constructed in Greek and Roman culture. Focus on EFFEMINACY is not exclusive: masculinity was not simply the absence of feminine qualities, but also a complex of positive factors that men might choose to assert. This does not mean that patriarchal values were less entrenched, but rather that processes of GENDER

DISTINCTION appear more fluid than we might expect, so as well as obvious factors such as MILITARY, HUNTING and ATHLETIC virtues, ancient EROTICISM, NUDITY, APPROPRIATE DRESS, CROSS-DRESSING etc. are also worthy of consideration.

BEARD, BLACK, BELT, CONSTRUCTION, *chlamys*, *exomis*, FOLDS, *indusium*, *krēpis*, *krokōtos*, PROSTITUTES, SPARTA, *toga*.

mastodeton, mastodesmos (G) A breast-band, or BRASSIERE.

Greek *Anthology* 6.201; Stafford (2005: 96–110); UNDERWEAR, *kestos*, *strophion*, *mitra*

MATRON, matrona Just as the male Roman citizen was distinguished by his *toga*, his wife was identified by her *stola*: the preserve of married Roman women, explicitly denied to the unmarried, PROSTITUTES and SLAVES. Originally worn only by women of patrician families, it was later – after the Second Punic War – allowed to all women – including FREEDWOMEN – married to Roman citizens. Also known as ‘the long garment’ because it fell over the feet, it was worn over a tunic and symbolized women’s modesty (*pudicitia*, Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.31–2), a protective visible sign of the woman’s STATUS. Scholz has argued that portrait statues suggest women might wear either a narrower *tunica*, or a much more voluminous one with a series of BUTTONS down the arms, under the *stola* (1992: 93–100).

The Roman **matrona** was also expected to wear the *palla* in public, although not necessarily as a VEIL. Valerius Maximus (6.3.10, Augustan era) recounts that in the second century BC, wives might be divorced for going out unveiled, but implies that this was a thing of the past. Nevertheless, many statues do represent the *pallā* used to veil. The final matronal items of dress were woollen *vittae* used for their HAIRSTYLES, also with protective functions. Although Augustus tried to revive use of the *stola* – and various women of the early empire, especially of the imperial family, wear it in

art – the extent, and circumstances, in which the full matronly costume of long tunic, stola, palla and vittae continued to be worn are questionable (Fig. 27).

Festus, 125; Macrobius, 1.6.13–14; Ovid, *Satires* 1.2.29, 1.2.94–5; Sebesta (1994: 48–9).

melanophoros, melanophoreō (G) Wearing BLACK.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.557d; Stratiki (2004: 106–9).



Figure 27 Statue of a MATRON acting as a PRIESTESS from Pompeii, in Naples Archaeological Museum: gap-sleeved TUNIC, stola, palla (as a VEIL), corona (WREATH) and vittae.

melas (G) BLACK, dark: one of the simpler Greek colour terms, in dress indicative of MOURNING – common topos in TRAGEDY, directly opposed to leukos, WHITE – and a DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of various chthonic deities.

Iliad 24.79; Plato, *Republic* 474e; Sappho, 57, etc.

mēlinos, melinoeides (G) Of a quince-YELLOW colour – possibly refers to DYEING with quince, results ranging from yellow to PINK, rather than to the colour of the fruit itself – found in catalogues of DEDICATED clothing.

IG II² 1524B.130=1525.7; Cleland (2005b: 21, 121); Linders (1972: 59); Tanagra, Schwyzler 462b.34.

mēruma, merugma (G) A SKEIN of thread.
Barber (1991: 269); Pollux, 7.29; ASBESTOS, Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.434a.

meruomai (G) To WEAVE the WEFT into the WARP.
Hesiod, *Works and Days* 538.

mesalourges, mesoalourges (G) Literally, PURPLE in the middle, cf. platyalourges.
IG II² 1523.15, 1529.8, 9.

mesopoikilos (G) PATTERNED in the middle, see poikilos.
IG II² 1524B.153.

METALLIC THREAD Both ARCHAEOLOGICAL and LITERARY evidence suggest that such thread, wrapped in thin strips of metal, was used for decorating textiles in the ancient world. It was certainly a LUXURY item, combining the economic value of COSTLY materials – and a delicate process – with the socially and aesthetically VALUED qualities of BRIGHTNESS and visibility.
Barber (1991: 200 etc.); Fig. 33; attalicus, BROCADE, GOLD.

metaxa (L) Raw SILK.

Vulgate, Ecclesiastes 22.19; *Price Edict of Diocletian* 24.1.

MILITARY DECORATIONS Awarded to Roman SOLDIERS for acts of conspicuous bravery or achievement, like modern medals, worn on parade – soldiers also appear wearing them on their tombstones, e.g. of Marcus Caelius, a centurion of the Eighteenth legion, AD 9: wears **corona civica**, two **torques**, five **phalerae**, **armilla** on each wrist. Various kinds of **corona** are recorded, while other awards were worn on the body. **Torques** and **armilla** may have originated from necklaces and bracelets captured from the enemy, given as rewards to soldiers, but soon became SYMBOLIC awards. Both were normally awarded in pairs: **armillae** were a conspicuous exception to the rule that wearing BRACELETS was EFFEMINATE for men; **torques** – usually penannular – were not worn round the neck, but on the front of the shoulders – attached directly to the CUIRASS or the harness (LEATHER straps, probably BUCKLED at the back) that also held **phalerae**. These were small discs – sometimes crescent- or kidney-shaped – often highly decorated in relief – e.g. with lion or medusa heads. Literature suggests they were GOLD or silver, but an extant set of nine **phalerae** (Lauersfort near the legionary fortress of Vetera/Xanten) are of silver-plated bronze.

Isidore, *Origins* 19.31.16; Maxfield (1981: 67–100).

MILITARY DRESS Soldiers and warriors of all periods wore protective clothing for warfare, which in many instances was also for show, to impress the enemy and the soldier's own community, and to boost his self-esteem – e.g. dress of SAMNITE soldiers, particularly plumes and crests on HELMETS. Greek art represents various types and combinations of dress, from metal, leather or fabric ARMOUR, to everyday dress – or NUDITY – combined with weapons (Fig. 38, cf. 2, 10). Some such costumes are clearly

artistic conventions – helmet and shield signify military context, accompanying garments are not necessarily those really worn to fight – but even so, dress obviously varied. Many early armies were citizen militias: each individual soldier supplied his own equipment and clothing specifically for fighting, so reverting, when not at war, to a civilian role and clothing. This situation changed with the development of professional armies: soldiers were increasingly distinguished from civilians even off-duty. This military/civilian dichotomy became especially important in the late Roman empire, as the military became more powerful in the state. Within the army, clothing and equipment also expressed important distinctions – e.g. different ranks, or legionary, auxiliary and cavalry units. There were inevitably changes in FASHION, as equipment was improved and adapted to suit changing conditions, some of which were influenced by former enemies – both in the Celtic world and in the east.

Clothing the Roman imperial army required complex and efficient systems of supply, of which we only see glimpses through occasional literary references to CONTRACTS, and occasional extant documents – Egyptian *papyri*, the Vindolanda tablets. Clothing, like food, was primarily obtained through local suppliers, although some items – e.g. SHOES – might be made in or near the forts. In the late empire a military clothing tax was imposed: earlier evidence suggests that soldiers were expected to pay for their clothing, and pay docked accordingly. Some items of kit were supplied through the army, others allowed soldiers to express some individuality, especially off-duty. LITERARY evidence is limited (e.g. Polybius and Vegetius), ARCHAEOLOGICAL remains – particularly armour and shoes – have been found at various frontier military sites, but artistic evidence is most widely used for reconstructing military dress. The two most important sources are state monuments of Rome – especially Trajan's column – and tombstones erected to

commemorate individual soldiers, which sometimes incorporate a full-length portrait. These provide a wealth of detailed information, but should be treated with caution: on Trajan's column, legionaries wear *lorica segmentata*, auxiliaries other forms of armour, but this may simply be a convenient way of distinguishing these two types of soldier visually for viewers in Rome, not a reflection of a real distinction in the army of the early second century AD.

Various items of ARMOUR worn by Roman soldiers (mentioned above, also CUIRASS, GREAVES, *manicae*, *pteruges*) are discussed separately. BELTS particularly could be individualized by the addition of extra features and decorations. A TUNIC was worn under the armour, or on its own, especially off-duty. Early imperial military tunics were simple rectangles without SLEEVES, with a large gap left for the head: the material at the back of the neck might be knotted to make the neck-hole smaller when a tighter fit was required. (Some auxiliary troops, recruited from areas where long-sleeved tunics were the norm, may have continued to wear them, and sleeved tunics became usual from the third century onwards.) The tunic was always belted and was generally shorter than civilians' – well above the knee. It is not certain what COLOURS were used, but most soldiers – including the higher-ranking officers – probably wore WHITE, the main distinguishing feature being quality of FABRIC. It is possible however that RED tunics were worn at certain times and in certain circumstances: perhaps distinguishing the dress of CENTURIONS. Some soldiers – especially the cavalry and those stationed to colder parts of the empire – also wore knee-BREECHES (*bracae*, *feminalia*), LEGGINGS or leg *hosae*. A letter written to a soldier serving at Vindolanda (Bowman and Thomas 1983: 132–5, no. 38) refers to two pairs of underpants (*subligar*) as well as SOCKS (*udones*) and SANDALS sent to him. A scarf (*focale*) would be worn round the neck to prevent armour rubbing.

The basic military CLOAK was the *sagum*, probably a yellowish BROWN colour, and so typical of military dress that 'putting on the *sagum*' was used for declarations of war. Generals, emperors and other officers – centurion upwards – wore the more elegant *paludamentum*, fastened by a *fibula*: differently shaped, with FRINGES or TASSELS, of better quality material, white or DYED SCARLET or PURPLE. Soldiers also wore the *paenula* in the first century AD, when the hob-nailed *caliga* was the standard military FOOTWEAR – with socks or some other wrapping for cold weather. *Caligae* seem to have been phased out, late first to early second century, and replaced with the more enclosed *campagus*, less clearly distinguished from civilian shoes. As well as standard clothing and armour, some elements were worn only on parade or in special circumstances, e.g. crests and plumes on helmets – the evidence for battle use is contradictory – MILITARY DECORATIONS, SPORTS armour and decorated BREASTPLATES.

Sumner (2002 and 2003); *abolla*, *armatura*, *armilaua*, *bardaicus*, *campagi imperialis*, *chlamys*, *diphtheria*, *endromides*, *ephamma*, *ephestris*, *korus*, *krēpis*, *kyneē*, *perizoma*, *petasos*, *phoinikis*, SKINS.

MINOAN DRESS Its CONSTRUCTION is much debated: some suggest that the dress of ancient Crete was cut and tailored, including a sort of crinoline or hoop-skirt (Fig. 28). These ideas are based around a deep-set misinterpretation of the iconographic sources and should be dismissed: Minoan dress was formed in much the same way as the clothing of other ancient cultures. Thus, men wore simple wrap-around kilts, BELTED at the waist with a TASSELLED SASH, beneath which went elaborate codpieces and LOINCLOTHS: their torsos were frequently bare, but they sometimes wore long TUNICS with short SLEEVES. Women also wore long short-sleeved tunics, with a central opening to



Figure 28 Left: Minoan noble. Right: Mycenaean noblewoman. Left: LOINCLOTH, codpiece, woven patterned belted kilt; strapped SANDALS, long hair, FEATHERED cap (Damaged Minoan fresco, 1500 BC, reconstruction and interpretation problematic). Right: T-shaped tunic exposes breasts – seams edged with EMBROIDERY or woven APPLIQUÉD patterns – long kilt – multiple PATTERNED flounces – patterned sash, elaborate HAIRSTYLE with fillet.

expose the breasts – sometimes a TRANSPARENT tunic was worn underneath. Like men, women wore kilts, usually decorated with three or four flounces, but similarly fastened. More unusual items, specific to Minoan culture, include sleeveless V-neck ponchos and tunics with standing collars. WOOL and LINEN were the base fabrics, often intricately woven with geometric or floral patterns: VEILS, animal SKINS and FURS were also utilized as dress items.

Marcar (2005: 30–43).

mitos (G) The (LINEN) HEDDLE string, a smooth strong piece of thread coiled round alternate WARP threads and the heddle

bar to form the second shed in WEAVING (Fig. 25). By extension from this important ordering role, **mitos** also had more abstract meanings, e.g., the thread of destiny, or *kata miton*, in good order.

Iliad 23.762; *Greek Anthology* 6.174 (Antipater); Barber (1991: 266–7); IG IV 627, Argos; Protagorides, 2.

mitra (G) A headband or HEADDRESS, possibly from **mitos** (later cf. *zōne*), specifically of victorious ATHLETES, or the priest of HERAKLES at Cos.

Euripides, *Bacchae* 833, *Hecuba* 924; Herodotus, 1.195; Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 8.15; Plutarch, *Moralia* 2.304c.

mitra (L) An 'Oriental' HEADDRESS, resembling a turban, cf. *calautica*, considered EFFEMINATE, so worn by Bacchus and the Trojans in Roman MYTHOLOGY.

Varro, *Latin Language* 5.130; Propertius, 4.2.31; Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.213–7, 616–7.

mollio (L) To soften, make flexible, e.g. LEATHER; or WOOL, by SPINNING.

Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 2.10.26; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.411.

monochitōn (G) Wearing only a *chitōn*, without a CLOAK, cf. *oiochitōn*.

Polybius, 14.11.2; Plutarch, *Sulla* 25.

MORDANTS Chemical components of natural DYEING processes, which encourage or stabilize the uptake of colourant by the FIBRE. Some natural dyes (e.g. SAFFRON) will colour fibres alone, but such direct dyes are not particularly colour-fast (made less critical by re-dyeing, probably a routine part of MAINTENANCE). Most natural dyestuffs require a mordant to form a permanent bond with the fibre, and many give a variety of COLOURS with different mordants. Ancient mordants were often naturally occurring chemical earths, or metallic salts – i.e. copper, iron or tin. Good effects being given by the simple addition, or use as dye vessels, of naturally oxidized metals – which therefore became objects of TRADE (especially alum, Pliny *NH* 35.52.183–4 cf. FULLING). Plant acids – from sorrel root or oak galls – or ammonia from urine, can also be used as mordants, and are important in TANNING. Mordant may be added to the fibres before or during dyeing – more rarely as finishing washes after dyeing. The term originates from the 'biting' effect on the fibres, which makes them amenable to the dye, but also therefore tends to harshen them: this perhaps added to the appeal of certain famous dyestuffs of antiquity – e.g. saffron, which does not require a mordant, and has a notably sweet smell, unlike many processes involving ammonia or plant acids, and

MUREX dyes. Although these require extensive and smelly pre-treatment, they are fast and so can be well-washed, and do not require the fibres to be degraded with a mordant.

Barber (1991: 226).

MOURNING In the ancient world, the initial outpouring of grief was often accompanied by some SYMBOLIC GESTURE associated with dress. Greek women threw off their VEILS and sometimes tore them in two. Laceration of the cheeks and tearing of the HAIR often followed as a conspicuous display of grief. Conversely, men tended to veil themselves with their robes, covering their heads and faces in a silent demonstration. Both were symbolic inversions of gender norms. It is difficult to know if a prescribed, protracted period of mourning followed all death – as in Victorian Britain – but ancient peoples, particularly mourning women, certainly wore BLACK, dark BLUE or GREY as marks of grief. In Rome, black, dark or DIRTY clothes were associated with mourning (*atratus*, *sordidatus*): men traditionally wore the *toga pulla*. Such clothes could also be worn in the face of other disasters or misfortunes, to show the wearer's lack of care about their appearance: men might also remain unshaven. Cicero (*Against Vatinius* 12.30–13.32) suggests that the *toga pulla* was only worn at the funeral, not the FUNERARY feast. Women were expected to observe visible mourning for a more protracted period: they too wore DULL or dark colours, though Herodian (4.2.3) implies that WHITE might be worn by women in mourning. The *ricinium* was especially associated with female mourning: in the year following her bereavement, a widow advertised her status by covering her head with this instead of the *palla*. On the deaths of emperors the elite laid aside some signs of their STATUS – e.g. at the first senate meeting after the death of Augustus, magistrates put off the *toga praetexta* for the dress of ordinary SENATORS, senators wore EQUESTRIAN dress.

Callimachus, *Hymn to Demeter* 181–3; Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 322–6; Juvenal, 10.245; *esthēma*, *kalumma*, *kyaneos*, *melas*, *praetexta*, *pullus*, *vestem mutare*.

mulleus calceus (L) A SHOE DYED the distinctive RED colour of the red mullet, a mark of STATUS: may have distinguished patricians or curule magistrates from other SENATORS.

Pliny, *NH* 9.30.65; Festus, 142–3.

murex (L) Murex, from which PURPLE dye was obtained, or the dye itself.

Horace, *Satires* 2.4.32; Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.262.

MUREX Often used as a catch-all term for all dye-producing shellfish by modern scholars, the processes and archaeology of PURPLE dyeing have received the most attention of all ancient DYES, partly because of clear primacy in ancient COLOUR SYMBOLISM, but also due to extensive ARCHAEOLOGICAL remains – large spoil heaps of shells – that allow dye-works to be identified, from very early periods until the process was lost in the Byzantine era. Debate continues to rage about the exact nature of the ancient process, but a variety of COLOURS – from BLUE-violet through purple to SCARLET – could be obtained, depending on the species of shellfish used, the reduction process of the dyestuff, and regulated exposure to sunlight. The dye process resembled that of indigo/woad – chemically fermented and reduced, using ammonia among other possible agents, to form a soluble compound used to dye – but was much more complex. This complexity emphasizes the level of technical skill, creative experimentation and accurate transmission of knowledge involved in ancient

dyeing, but even for this most SYMBOLIC, VALUABLE dye we have only amateur and partial reports in LITERATURE. However, ancient authors show a clear understanding and conceptualization of purple as a dyed colour – most define purple *as the result of murex dyeing*, rather than an abstract colour between red and blue: some RED and BLUE textiles were therefore also ‘purples’.

Ziderman (2004).

MYCENAEAN DRESS See MINOAN DRESS, CONSTRUCTION, FUR, PERFUME.

myiosobes (G) A FLYWHISK.

Pollux, 10.94.

MYTHOLOGY Clothing naturally makes numerous appearances in mythology, some more significant than others. Almost every deity has some form of clothing as a DIVINE ATTRIBUTE. However, clothing and textiles also appear in more complex roles: the FATES symbolize and control all human life through the processes of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE. Roman MARRIAGE is bound by Herakles’ knot, *nodus Herculeus*. In Greek TRAGEDY, death is often bound up with textiles – the suicide of Jocasta, the murder of AGAMEMNON – and often reflecting the dual meaning of *pharmakon* as DYE and poison, cf. *sandarakinos*. Even the briefest survey of mythology with eyes open to textiles and clothing reinforces the centrality of the textile arts, clothing production and use, to Greek and Roman life. Clothing’s use to express divine characters in literary or artistic myths can often be cautiously extended to the everyday – e.g. the importance of textiles in the lives, actions and communications of mythic women.

N

nakē (G) WOOLLY or hairy GOAT or sheep SKIN.

Odyssey 14.530; Pausanias, 4.11.3; Barber (1991: 276); **aigos, katonakē**.

nakos (G) WOOL, fleece, cf. **mallos**.

Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 4.68; Herodotus, 2.42; Barber (19912: 276).

naktos, nakta (G) FELT.

Barber (1991: 276).

NAP The individual FIBRES inevitably protruding from the surface of a WOVEN textile, in some cases deliberately created by WEFT-LOOPING, in others a natural by-product of the process of SPINNING relatively short fibres into long threads then weaving them together – so variable on finished FABRIC, according to the type of fibres used, and how they were spun. The nap could be treated in a variety of ways during the finishing of a textile: LINEN fabric might be polished to smooth it; WOOLLEN fabric was often CARDED to raise the nap, making it softer, fluffier and warmer; for WATERPROOFING the nap might even be FELTED. Manipulating the nap was also important in FULLING for CLEANING and MAINTENANCE.

gausapa, knapheuō, keirō, krokus, lachnē, pexus, paenula, xuō.

nassō, nattō (G) To compact or compress, in FULLING, cf. **naktos**.

Odyssey 21.122; Theocritus, 9.9; Barber (1991: 274, 276).

nebridopeplos; -stolos; -chitōn (G) Dressed in fawn-SKIN. The LEATHER component means we cannot take each particular garment shape literally, emphasizing that Greek terms do not necessarily refer to a single, or particular, shape of garment, but are quite often used in a general way (e.g. **himatia**, CONSTRUCTION).

Greek Anthology 9.524.14; Callimachus, *Hymn to Orpheus*, 52.10; Simmias, 15.

nebris (G) A fawn-SKIN, particularly the dress of Dionysos and MAENADS.

Euripides, *Bacchae*, 24, 136; Demosthenes, *Prooemia* 703.

NECKLACES Necklaces were worn by women – seldom by men – throughout the Classical world, and inevitably went in and out of fashion: they also varied considerably in COST, from a humble string of BEADS to the massive jewelled collars of LATE ANTIQUITY. Greek or ETRUSCAN necklaces of the seventh century BC can be as elegant and refined as those made centuries later. Basic types include: simple chains, pendants – crescents were particularly popular – chokers and strap necklaces with tiny pendants, linked

stones in bezel settings, strings of beads, and **torques**. HELLENISTIC and Roman necklaces often incorporated GEMS and PEARLS, while gold coins were made into **interrasile** jewelry in the late empire. EGYPTIAN mummy portraits show the growing popularity of necklaces in the Roman world: first-century AD portraits typically show women wearing only one simple necklace, whereas later ones show them with two or three more elaborate necklaces. From the fourth century onwards, very rich and important women could wear massive necklaces made of gold and huge numbers of pearls and jewels, like the large lunate necklace with pendant jewels worn by Theodora (Fig. 8).

nēma (G) SPUN, i.e. thread or yarn; from **nēō**.

Odyssey 4.134; Euripides, *Orestes* 1433.

nēō, **nēthō** (G) To SPIN thread.

Odyssey 7.198; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 519.

netron (G) A SPINDLE cf. **nēma**, **nēō**.

Barber (1991: 263).

niger (L) BLACK or very dark BROWN, opposite of **candidus**.

Juvenal, 7.192; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.314.

NIGHTWEAR, ROMAN The evidence is very sparse: it seems unlikely that Romans had special clothes for wearing at night. Martial contrasts the 'wife' sleeping in her **BREASTBAND** (**fasciae**), tunic and **MANTLE** with the girl who wears nothing (11.104.7–8); Propertius mentions girls sleeping wrapped in a mantle (**amicta**) and wearing a nightcap (**nocturna mitra**, 3.21.8; 2.29.15). Wearing a light tunic in bed perhaps became more usual later: **camisia** may be from *in camis* (possibly 'in bed') and equate to **subucula** and **supparus**. **Dormitoria** – from a fourth-century Gallic schoolbook – would seem to refer to clothes for sleeping in.

Probably most Romans wore either nothing in bed or their daytime clothes.

Isidore, *Origins* 19.22.29; Festus, 311; Adkin (2000: 619–20); Olsen (2003: 201–10).

nodus Herculeanus (L) The RITUAL knot of the BRIDE'S BELT, devised by HERAKLES in MYTHOLOGY as difficult to untie, and SYMBOLIZING his virility in fathering 70 children.

Festus, 63.

NORICUM AND PANNONIA First- and second-century AD dress in these Danubian provinces is illustrated on tombstones (Fig. 29); further evidence – especially metal components – comes from graves. Men's dress was unremarkable – as in other northern provinces, generally a tunic with **sagum**, **paenula**, or occasionally **cucullus**: **torques** and small scarves seem popular in Pannonia. However, women's costume is dramatic and varied: consisting of a long under-dress with long tight sleeves and a fairly high neck, and a shorter over-dress to about mid-calf – usually



Figure 29 Tombstone of a girl from NORICUM, first century AD.

tubular, fastened on the shoulders by matching *fibulae*. These are particularly emphasized in representations, standing high above the shoulders, framing the neck, while surviving examples, mostly bronze, some silver, confirm their size – up to 21 centimetres long – and elaborate decoration. An alternative over-dress appears in the second century, a very wide tunic with sewn shoulder seams, therefore without *fibulae*. Both kinds were held in at the waist – sometimes a little higher – by a *BELT*: in first-century representations of girls this is quite wide, highly decorated, clasped or *BUCKLED* at the front, with three long strips hanging down – two narrow flanking a broader. Second-century belts were thinner and plainer. Young girls may wear a simple

necklace and *BRACELETS*, but the older, married women wear the most elaborate jewellery – *NECKLACES*, bracelets, *RINGS*, and often a third *BROOCH* in the centre of the breast for decoration. Their *HEADDRESSES* are their most distinctive feature: a wide variety of different forms may represent localized types within the region, not just individual choice. Many are variations on a square kerchief wound round the head and tucked in over the hair to form a turban-like headdress, but others are true *HATS* made presumably from animal *SKINS* or *FELT*. These headdresses and hats are sometimes covered with a *VEIL*, and women often wear a *MANTLE* draped over both shoulders.

Garbsch (1985: 546–77).



Figure 30 ATHLETES. Left: NUDE athlete crowned with victory *WREATH*, large *epiblema* with two *BORDERS*. Weights sewn into corners to help hold it in place when *DRAPED* around the body. Right: Athlete completely swathed in *epiblema* or *himation*.

NUDITY Ancient Greek society expected or permitted male nudity on specific occasions, and tolerated it generally, but female nudity was unacceptable in daily life – for women wanting to retain good name and family respectability, nudity was only permitted in closely regulated sporting and **RITUAL** all-female contexts, cf. Fig. 34. In Greek art male nudity is a **SYMBOLIC** construct foregrounding timeless heroic aspects of **MASCULINITY**: such nudity can be viewed as a type of heroic **COSTUME** (Fig. 2). Male nudity was an accepted aspect of **ATHLETIC** society, and no doubt a central element of the Athenian council's public inspection of the bodies of young men, which so delighted Philokleon (Fig. 30, Aristophanes, *Wasps* 578). It was certainly acceptable in controlled contexts, and where respectable women were banned. The Greek for the sexual organs, *aidoia* (like Latin *pudenda*), is closely connected to the word for 'shame', suggesting that nudity was not totally de rigueur. People turned a blind eye to an open robe or carelessly wrapped **himation** at a symposium, but it is hard now to believe that naked Athenian men paraded alongside girls during the Great Panatheneia – although Christian concepts centring modesty/ obscenity so specifically on genital coverage/display must affect this assessment, cf. Figs 6, 17.

The extent to which the **ETRUSCANS** and Romans accepted and resisted total nudity for athletes has been hotly debated (Thuillier 1988). Numerous Etruscan statuettes, and 'perizoma vases' – imported into Etruria from Athens in the late sixth century BC, showing athletes wearing conspicuous **WHITE LOINCLOTHS** – would suggest prudishness about athletic nudity, although athletes are shown in several Etruscan tombs competing nude. The Romans too seem to have been ill-at-ease

with complete nudity for athletes, seeing it as an alien Greek practice, at least in the Republic. It is possible that it was confined to the 'Greek' games – introduced in 186 BC – while competitors at other games still wore **LOINCLOTHS** (**subligaculum**): Augustus forbade women to watch the Greek games. Plutarch (*Cato* 20.8) relates that earlier Romans had even avoided bathing with their relatives to avoid being naked in front of them: yet a surprising number of statues represent important Romans nude – men holding weapons (naked emperors might wield Jupiter's thunderbolt) while women appeared as naked Venus. However, a variety of other costumes were also employed (**toga**, **ARMOUR**, Greek philosopher's **himation**): such images suggest that, as in Greek art, nudity functioned as a heroic costume.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 44.2–3; Bonfante (1989: 543–70); Hallett (2005); *achitōn*, *aphares*, *gymnos*, *oiochitōn*, *nudus*.

nudus (L) Undressed, like **gymnos** more complex than simply 'naked'. Precise meaning depends on context, but implies improper dress for the occasion. Cicero objects to Antony making a speech to the people at the Lupercalia **nudus**: as a **Lupercus** he was presumably wearing a **GOATSKIN LOINCLOTH**, **INAPPROPRIATE** attire for speech-making. Thus for men in public, **nudus** could mean 'bare-chested', although in private it might mean fully naked: could also indicate defencelessness, i.e. without **ARMOUR**.

Cicero, *Philippic* 2.34.86, 2.43.111, 3.5.12; Virgil, *Georgics* 1.299, *Aeneid* 8.425; Livy, 5.45.3.

nymphides (G) Special **SHOES** worn during the **WEDDING**.

O

ōa (G) Generally ‘edge’, specifically, SELVAGE, or HEADING-BAND. Also SHEEPSKIN.

Hermippus, 57; Pollux, 10.181.

offectores (L) DYERS who re-dyed faded cloth, cf. **infectores**, for new cloth.

Festus, 192.

OFFERINGS See DEDICATIONS.

oiochitōn (G) Wearing **chitōn** only, lightly-dressed (Fig. 6, cf. 30). For Greek men, outer garments seem to have been the *sine qua non* of clothing: it was not remarkable to wear only a CLOAK, whether the relatively complete coverage of the **himation**, or the more open **chlamys** – characteristic of ephebes in art, see NUDITY.

Odyssey 14.489; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 8.16.

omphakinon (G) A garment with the COLOUR of unripe grapes.

Pollux, 7.56.

onos (G) Generally, an ass, but also, from this beast of burden, the SPINDLE or DISTAFF. Spinning was an everyday task for women in antiquity.

Pollux, 7.32; 10.125.

ORANGE Neither Greek nor Latin has a distinct, general, term for orange, (cf. *sandavakinos*, a pigment) which explains much of the confusion surrounding many ancient terms for YELLOW (see **luteus**). These are frequently used for items which we would categorize as orange, or even RED, not inconsistently, or because yellow and red were lumped together, but simply because there was no term in general use for the junction of the categories ‘yellow’ and ‘red’, so items whose COLOUR lay between the two had, by default, to be described by one or the other. This is an interesting linguistic issue, but need not obscure the nature of the items themselves, cf. **flammeum**.

ostrinus (L) A PURPLE COLOUR. Sometimes qualified with **rubens**, so the RED end of the purple range.

tunica, Propertius, 4.12.7, 3.27.26.

OVERFOLD Greek TUNICS, especially the female **chitōn** or **peplos**, could be formed from textiles longer than the wearer was tall (Fig. 7): excess material was folded over on the outside to various lengths from the neck and shoulders, often decoratively tied or BELTED. Depending on arrangement, the overfold might appear as simply a decorative flap, but could reach below the waist, often resembling a separate overtunic. On the one hand, the

overfold seems to have a decorative purpose – by allowing more complex FOLDS and girding it increased a garment's aesthetic appeal and emphasized the breast area – and on the other, it seems to have been a form of conspicuous consumption, increasing the sheer amount of fabric used – so implying WEALTH and

STATUS – without restricting mobility as a train might do.

apoptygma, bathystolmos, hēmiploidion, pteryx.

oxypaiderotinus (L) BRIGHT PINK, a rare ancient COLOUR in general.

SHA *Aurelian* 46.4.

P

paenula (L) A heavy Roman WOOLLEN CAPE, often HOODED, of uncertain origin: the earliest literary evidence is Plautus (*Mostellaria* 4.3.991, c. 200 BC). It may be connected with the Greek **phainole**, but is most likely to have come via south Italy or Sicily: perhaps a model for the GALLIC cape, not vice versa. Its precise shape and pattern has been disputed: it may have varied in design over time, but was probably made from a semi-circular piece of material, the two straight edges brought together in front and sewn (Fig. 31). If so, the garment was put on over the head (**indutus**) not wrapped (**amictus**), but the two edges might have been FASTENED by hooks-and-eyes or buttons/toggles and loops. Length varied, but early-mid imperial art often shows it falling to the knees or mid-calf. It could be worn as an all-enveloping garment that covered the arms, but as only a small section of the front was usually joined, one or both front portions could be thrown back to give more freedom of movement. The **paenula** often – but not invariably – had a hood, either integral or made separately and attached: Pliny describes bindweed leaves as shaped like its hood (**capitium** *NH* 24.88.138), so it was probably folded down on the back. The hood is rarely represented over the head in art, instead either hanging down the back, or absent.

The **paenula** was associated with bad weather, especially rain, and travelling. It was worn by various kinds of people – including women: labourers wore workaday versions and SOLDIERS on the northern frontiers wore them both on- and off-duty. Soldiers on Trajan's column wear **paenulae**, as does the emperor himself. The **paenula** was also commonly worn by ordinary citizens in crowd scenes of 'the people' on state reliefs (*Anaglypha Traiani*, Arch of Constantine). In the early empire the **paenula** was not considered APPROPRIATE attire for upper-class Romans – except when travelling – but clearly there were superior versions: e.g. Canusian of the best quality Apulian wool, those worn as FASHION items in Rome, the **paenula gausapina** of fine WHITE wool with shaggy NAP, and Caligula's **paenula** decorated with EMBROIDERED pictures and GEMS. Although ordinary **paenulae** were probably the natural COLOURS of wool, or DYED a dark colour, they could be white or RED – mosaics represent various colours – even of LEATHER (*scorteae*, Martial, 14.130), SKINS or FUR. Worn over a tunic, not over a **toga**, **paenulae** gradually came to replace the toga as the official dress of Roman citizens by the fourth century AD: an edict of 382 (*Code of Theodosius* 14.10.1.2) even decreed that it should be worn by SENATORS. The **paenula** also eventually became a CHRISTIAN church vestment, the correct dress for bishops from



Figure 31 Two Roman SOLDIERS and a BARBARIAN prisoner from the Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome. Both soldiers wear the PAENULA – seen from the front and back, with the HOOD – the prisoner a TUNIC over long loose TROUSERS, a CLOAK fastened with a BROOCH, and a hat which characterizes him as from the EAST.

the time of Constantine. **Casula** is another name for late imperial **paenulae**, which evolved into the chasuble.

Pliny, *NH* 8.73.190; Martial, 2.57.4, 5.26.1, 14.145, 14.130; Suetonius, *Caligula* 52; Kolb (1973: 69–167).

palindoriai (G) Mended SHOES.

Plato Comicus, 164; Pollux, 6.164.

palla (L) Female equivalent of the **pallium**, especially worn outdoors (Fig. 27). It covered the body from shoulder to knees – it might fall to the ankles: it is usually represented as a voluminous garment – i.e. expensive – elegantly DRAPED in a number of different ways. It could be worn over the head as a VEIL, draped diagonally round the body like a **toga**, over both shoulders like a shawl, or even round the hips (Ara Pacis

Augustae processional friezes). As it was not fastened at all, it relied on DRAPING, and is often shown being held in one hand, and/or with one hand completely hidden inside. This made it suitable for leisured women of the upper classes, but not for any practical activity. Nonius says that respectable women and MATRONS should not appear in public without it; Horace complains that the all-enveloping **stola** and **palla** show only MATRONS' faces (537–8M; *Satires* 1.2.94–9). The **palla** – probably usually made of WOOL, lighter summer versions of LINEN, COTTON or SILK – could be any COLOUR at all, except from 215–195 BC, when the *Lex Oppia* forbade PURPLE. In the early empire it was usually plain, with at most a contrasting BORDER, but in the third and fourth centuries AD could be decorated with PATTERNED roundels, and later still might have more complex decoration. A smaller

version, the *palliola*, was also available, especially later.

Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131; Davies (2005: 121–30).

palliatius (L) Wearing a **pallium**, so identifying as Greek rather than Roman. Plautus already uses this as a sign of general Greekness, and is followed by later writers. **Palliatius** is often used as a foil for **togatus**: thus Latin comedy adapted from Greek New Comedy was called *fabula palliata*, to distinguish it from the home-grown *fabula togata*. **Palliatius** is also used by modern art historians to designate statues of men wearing the **pallium** (cf. **togatus**, NUDE or ARMoured).

Cicero, *Philippic* 5.5.14.

pallium (L) The Greek **himation** in a Roman context: a wrapped rectangular mantle worn in a variety of different ways, alone by PHILOSOPHERS, but usually with a TUNIC underneath. For the Romans it was the quintessence of Greek dress, so they were very careful about wearing it: never when a **toga** was APPROPRIATE. Thus Scipio Africanus was criticized for wearing the **pallium** with SANDALS at the gymnasium in Sicily; Cicero, defending Rabirius, has to excuse his wearing it in Alexandria; Tiberius is wrong to wear **pallium** and sandals in exile on Rhodes; Hadrian was careful to wear the **pallium** to banquets only outside Italy. In the second century AD, the **pallium** was associated with intellectual activities in general – worn by philosophers, teachers, doctors, poets and sophists, i.e. anyone who claimed to be cultured, many from Greek parts of the empire anyway: these associations made it the appropriate dress for CHRISTIANS in preference to the **toga**. It seems the **pallium** was little worn in the north-west PROVINCES (Wild 1985: 385), but is the garment most often worn by saints and patriarchs in early Christian art.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 98.3, *Tiberius* 13.1; Livy, 29.19.12; Cicero, *For Rabirius* 9.27; SHA, *Hadrian* 22.4–5. Tartallian, *De Pallio*.

palmata (tunica) (L) The TUNIC worn by the general at his TRIUMPH, possibly decorated with palm motifs, palmettes.

Livy, 10.7.9.; *abola*.

PALMYRA The large corpus of funerary sculpture from this Syrian city allows us to deduce many of the intricacies of Palmyrene dress (Figs 22, 32). While some Greco-Roman influence exerted itself on Palmyra's elite – especially women – there was a distinct eastern tradition in fashionable looks. Men tended to wear either an ample full-length TUNIC with a length of rolled cloth knotted around the hips, or an Iranian style side-vented tunic with long SLEEVES over a pair of TROUSERS tucked into BOOTS – like PERSIAN **anaxarides**, but fuller, looser and apparently SILK – particularly as a riding or HUNTING habit, with leggings or chaps to protect the fine fabric of the trousers. Palmyrene noblemen might wear a **himation**, **pallium** or **chlamys** over this. Chaps of silk or LINEN could be worn indoors too. Palmyrene women wore full-length gowns, long sleeved with ornamented cuffs, under a silk or linen **chiton**, fastened Greek style, or on one shoulder only with a large and conspicuous BROOCH. Most women appear to have worn fabric turbans, often draped with jewelled ornaments and pendants, under long light silk VEILS. The visual richness of Palmyrene dress is obvious: couched EMBROIDERY, BROCADES, WOVEN PATTERNS, BEADING, APPLIQUÉD strips of braid and fine spun silk and linen gave the clothes of the nobles of Palmyra a distinctly opulent look.

Goldman (1994: 163–81).

paludamentum (L) The MILITARY CLOAK worn by Roman generals and emperors – e.g. on Trajan's column and numerous CUIRASSED statues of emperors – fastened by a BROOCH on the right shoulder. Similar to the **chlamys**, it was long – to mid-calf – possibly with a curved lower edge, DYED SCARLET or PURPLE, or BLEACHED white. It



Figure 32 Reclining man from a PALMYRENE funerary relief in Philadelphia. He wears a TUNIC with long SLEEVES over long loose TROUSERS: both garments are DECORATED with BANDS and BORDERS.

was worn by commanders when setting out for war, and SYMBOLIZED both legitimate authority and honour – Antony ordered that Brutus be cremated in his. According to Florus (1.5.6) it was introduced into Rome very early.

Nonius, 864L; Pliny, *NH* 22.3.3; Livy, 41.10.5, 45.39.11; SHA *Marcus Aurelius* 14.1; Harlow (2005: 143–53).

PANNONIAN DRESS See **NORICUM AND PANNONIA**, (Fig. 29) for *pilleus Pannonicus* see *pilleus*.

pannus (L) Cloth or FABRIC; sometimes, rags.

Martial, 2.46.9; Barber (1991: 273).

panus (L) Thread wound on a bobbin or pin-beater, see *pēnē*.

Nonius, 217L.

paragauda/is (L) With WOVEN or EMBROIDERED decorative BANDS, used of LATE ANTIQUE clothing, especially tunics.

SHA *Aurelian* 46.6, *Claudius* 17.6; *Code of Theodosius* 10.21.1.

parairēma (G) Side SELVAGE, cf. *asma*.

Thucydides, 4.48; Barber (1991: 272).

parakymatios (G) ‘Sea-wave’ PATTERN, probably a BORDER. Attested only from BRAURON – for the generally highly decorated *chitōniskos* – but quite commonly seen in artistic representations of various types of dress (Fig. 39).

Miller (1997: 177); Cleland (2005b: 15, 62–3, 122); *IG* II² 1514.46.

paralourges (G) With a PURPLE border; see *halourgos*, *parhyphēs*.

IG II² 1515.26, 69.

parapoikilos (G) BORDERED with PATTERNS (Figs 1, 39).

IG II² 1522.12; 1523.19; Miller (1997: 177).

PARASOLS Small canopies used as protection against the sun in Egypt, Persia and

elsewhere in antiquity: often an emblem of rank. Old Kingdom EGYPTIAN tomb paintings depict dignitaries shaded by a parasol held by a bearer; this remained a signifier of rank throughout Egyptian history. In the New Kingdom tomb of Huy, a travelling Ethiopian princess has one fixed to a tall STAFF rising from the centre of her chariot, like those in the chariots of Assyrian monarchs. Discoveries at Nineveh show parasols – edged with TASSELS, and usually with a flower or other ornament on top – carried over the king in times of peace and war. On later bas-reliefs, a long piece of LINEN or SILK, falling from one side like a curtain, appears to screen the king completely from the sun. The parasol was reserved exclusively for the monarch and is never represented as borne over any other person. The PERSIAN king and his satraps were often portrayed (e.g. bas-reliefs from Persepolis) with parasols held by servants. From its very limited use in Asia and Egypt, where it certainly acted as a mark of supreme STATUS, the parasol seems to have passed into Greece and Rome as an object of distinction and LUXURY. The Greek *skiadeion* was carried over effigies of Dionysus, and Attic vase-paintings show SLAVE women holding parasols over wealthy Athenian women at the great Panathenaia festival. Parasols were also regulated at the later mysteries of ANDANIA. At Rome the parasol loses its social SYMBOLISM: women – and EFFEMINATE men – simply defended themselves from the sun with an *umbraculum* of skin, silk or LEATHER, capable of being raised or lowered.

Miller (1992: 91–105); Ovid, *Art of Love* 2.209; Apuleius, *Golden Ass* 4.31.

paryphainō (G) To WEAVE a BORDER, cf. SELVAGE.

Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 5.4.48.

paryphasma, paruphē (G) A BORDER woven along a garment or textile.

IG II² 1514.29; Plutarch, 2.239c.

paryphēs; paryphis (G) With a BORDER; BORDERED garment.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320.7; Menander, 479; Pollux, 7.53, 7.46.

pasmation (G) A metal ornament, SEWN onto garments.

Barber (1991: 173, n.11); Miller (1997: 167); IG II² 1522.15; *epichrusa*, *epitekta*, *kandys*, *trichapton*.

patagium (L) A GOLD BORDER at the neck of a TUNIC, cf. *limbus*; gold stripe (*clavus*).

Festus, 221; Nonius, 866L.

PATTERNED TEXTILES The proportion of available time and effort that went into ancient TEXTILE MANUFACTURE for everyday use – not just clothing, but furnishings of all kinds, sackcloth and sails – should never be underestimated: probably the most time-consuming single task in late prehistory (Barber 1991: xxii) and throughout the Greek and Roman periods – even, despite some technological advances, until the end of the medieval period. The extra time and effort required to produce patterned textiles therefore made them significant in and of themselves – quite apart from the use of costly DYES, e.g. purple, FIBRES, e.g. SILK, or metal decorations, *pasmata*, METALLIC THREAD. Their use for clothing is abundantly illustrated by the figurative scenes of red- and black-figure POTTERY – many of the decorative motifs used for pottery itself were perhaps influenced by patterned textiles, Barber 1991: 365–82, see Fig. 39. ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds of textiles also often show patterns (Fig. 33). However, it is immensely difficult to recover the significance of these particular types of patterns, or even to name them accurately, because literary references tend to be highly general (cf. *parakymatios*, *ktenōtos*).

In the modern age of printed or machine woven textiles pattern now tends to be regarded as a subset of COLOUR, rather than as an independent signifier. However,

evidence suggests pattern was an aspect of clothing with equal or greater significance than colour in the Greek world – e.g. significance of Roman BORDERS. Pattern – though rarely described in detail – is the most common textually referenced signifier in Greek TRAGIC clothing (Fig. 39): more common even than references to dark MOURNING colours. Literary descriptions of high-status, special occasion (BRIDAL) or magical clothing (APHRODITE's *kestos*) also refer to pattern, which is a common target of CLOTHING REGULATIONS, and the most comprehensively described aspect of the garments at BRAURON. In short, patterned textiles have similar importance to the much better studied phenomenon of PURPLE in ancient dress. However pattern, unlike purple, was universally available: whereas 'true' purple was an exclusive and idealized quality, patterned textiles could be created by anyone who could spare some time from subsistence. At the same time, 'unrestrained' pattern was characteristic of BARBARIAN, particularly PERSIAN dress (e.g. *anaxyrides*, AMAZONS). Pattern, like the significant colours, especially purple and SAFFRON, was an 'optional extra' in Greek clothing, adding value and aesthetic appeal, demonstrating access to the luxury of time.

Not all pattern would have been equal: while the poor could have long-lasting patterned textiles by using natural variation in WOOL colour, these would be immediately distinct from the BRIGHT fast dyes available through TRADE. Moreover, patterning textiles appears to have been an important site for the demonstration, assertion – and even misrepresentation through purchase – of female skill – ladies of leisure had more time to practise their arts, Fig. 26. Although the descriptions of the Brauron catalogues contain relatively few references to male garments, these reinforce the literary evidence that patterning was more important for female garments. It perhaps provided a focus for competition between women, an aspect of clothing often unjustly downplayed by scholars' concentration on male

responses to women's dress. Greek terms for pattern in textiles can be roughly divided into three groups: general terms – most commonly *poikilos* and its derivatives, or *anthinos*, but also *enhyphaino*, *paryphis*, *poikileimōn*, *katastiktos*; terms for decorative borders (*kraspedon*, *ktenotos*, *parakymatios*, *peripoikilos*, *purgōtos*, *thermastis*); and specific terms for all-over patterns (*anthēropoikilos*, *mesopoikilos*, *parapoikilos*). Certain garments were particularly associated with pattern, notably the *ependytēs* and *kandys*, but also the *himation*, which was often bordered.

The best evidence for patterned textiles in early Italy comes from art (vase- and tomb-painting, statuettes): simple patterns of lines, dots and circles appear on SAMNITE tunics, a fashion for plaids and checks on ETRUSCAN garments in the seventh and early sixth centuries BC. The Etruscans were particularly fond of plain borders in contrasting colours at all periods – a liking inherited by the Romans. The most complex textile represented in Etruscan art is worn by Vel Saties (Francois tomb, Vulci): a *himation* decorated with figures performing a war dance, possibly related to the Roman *toga picta*. Roman clothing from the Republic and early Empire otherwise shows little interest in decoration other than simple stripes (see *clavus*) and borders (see *praetexta*). However this begins to change in the third century AD with the introduction of simple geometric shapes – H, L or gamma – in contrasting colours, placed on tunics and mantles, often at the corners: this repertoire develops – including circular and square patches placed on the shoulders and bands or batons, increasingly filled with tapestry-woven designs, see Fig. 47. At first designs tend to be abstract or floral, using two colours only, purple and WHITE, but in the fifth century FIGURATIVE designs in a wider range of colours appear, including animals, birds and human figures. Late imperial ivory diptychs show both TUNICS and togas completely covered in patterns (see *trabea*), and in Fig. 81, Justinian wears a dark purple cloak with a *tablion* –

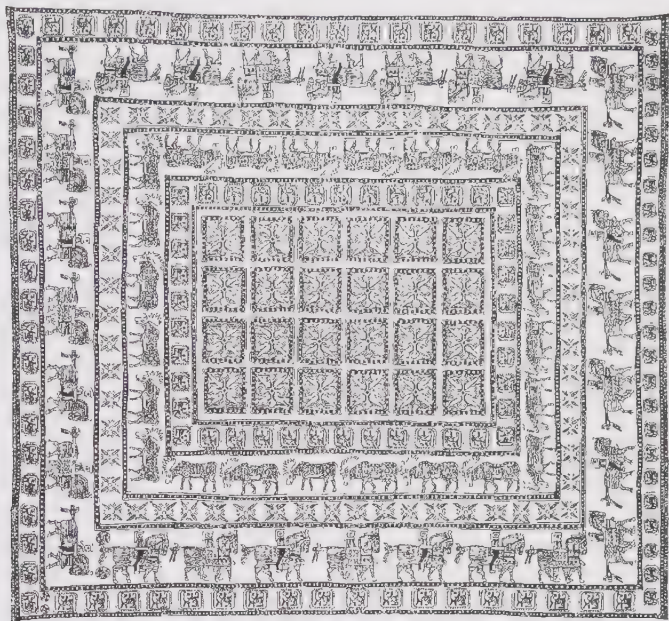


Figure 33 Achaemenid PERSIAN woollen textile decorated with mythological beasts, horsemen and elk. This beautifully preserved FIGURED cloth shows the high quality of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE and design in the ancient near east.

gold background and green birds in red circles – Theodora’s cloak has a broad border with the three magi bringing gifts at the bottom. Most surviving examples of LATE ANTIQUE patterned textiles come from EGYPT – some from PALMYRA: showing a range of MYTHOLOGICAL figures and complex geometric and floral designs.

Duigan (2004: 78–84); Wagner-Hasel (2002: 17–33); Cleland (forthcoming a); WEAVING, porphyra, kartos, korē, leukos, etc.

PATTERN-WEAVING Patterns were created in the Greek and Roman worlds using EMBROIDERY, APPLIQUÉ (TABLET-WEAVING) or weaving patterns into the textile on the LOOM. Although evidence for TAPESTRY weaving emphasizes multiple registers of small images – not large single – this did not always rely on colour: pattern can also be created simply by varying the thickness of the WEFT – raised sections, probable precursors of BROCADE – or by using wefts SPUN in

different directions (S-TWIST, Barber 1991: 132–3; 178–9). The easiest and least time-intensive forms of woven coloured decoration were BORDERS: parallel borders required only a different colour of weft-thread for some rows of the weaving, vertical borders were woven on the warp-weighted loom using separate mechanical sheds and groups of weights (Barber 1991: 118). However, many other techniques were possible, not only for producing sporadic motifs or complex borders, but also general pattern weaves – e.g. TWILL, faced or chequered – depending on contrasting colours of warp and weft thread, and varied numbers of grouped warp threads. Once the web and extra HEDDLES are appropriately set, these can be fairly simply made. More elaborate pattern-weaving, which seems to have had a reciprocal influence on pottery decoration, generally used floating supplementary weft techniques: extra threads introduced alongside the main weft, ‘floating’ in front of the warp where

required, and behind it when not. This technique works best for 'busy' decoration or patterns in bands, since these forms reduce the length of float (Barber 1991: 138–41). Although Greek dress underwent slow cycles of FASHION in degrees of patterning, these techniques were probably in continuous use for other forms of textiles. In social terms – weaving as women's work – pattern-weaving, unlike most other aspects of textile production, requires not only skill, but also concentration and is not readily combined with other activities, increasing its social and relative scarcity VALUE.

PEARLS Highly prized in the Roman world, used for NECKLACES, earrings – well-attested by literary and pictorial evidence, e.g. mummy and other portraits – and other types of JEWELLERY as well as for DECORATING clothing. Pliny deplores the use of pearls to decorate SANDALS and slippers – bad in women, worse in Caligula – adding that women spend more money on their ears, for pearl earrings, than any other part of their bodies, e.g. Lollia Paulina's extravagance in wearing forty million sesterces' worth of emeralds and pearls all over her head, HAIR, ears, neck and fingers. Julius Caesar was very fond of pearls, and is said to have bought a single pearl costing six million sesterces for Servilia. Roman love of pearls does not seem to have diminished over the centuries: Theodora's HEADDRESS and jewellery (Fig. 8) use large numbers.

NH 9.56.114, 37.6.17, 11.50.136, 9.58.117; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 50.2.

pecten (L) A HAIR comb; also used in WEAVING.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.14; Martial, 14.150.2.

pectin (L) A tool for heckling FLAX or CARDING WOOL.

Juvenal, 9.30.

pecto, pectino (L) To comb or CARD.

BEARD, Martial, 7.58.2; Pliny, NH 19.3.17–18.

pedilon, pedila (G) A SANDAL; generally FOOTWEAR, SHOES or BOOTS.

Odyssey 14.23; Euripides, *Electra* 460; Herodotus, 7.67; Aristophanes, *Birds* 973.

pekō (G) To pluck or comb WOOL from sheep.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 775; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1356; Barber (1991: 261).

pellis (L) SKIN or LEATHER: SHOES or garments made of them, also **pellitus**, dressed in skins.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.722; Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.516; *Price Edict of Diocletian* 8.

pellytra (G) ATHLETE's footwear.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 259.

PENDILIA Long pendant chains, GEMS or PEARLS hanging from the sides of the LATE ANTIQUE imperial **diadem**, part of imperial INSIGNIA (Fig. 8).

Stout (1994: 77–100).

pendo, pensum (L) The WOOL weighed out for a SLAVE to SPIN per day; therefore, a day's work, and SPINNING in general.

Virgil, *Georgics* 1.391, *Aeneid* 8.412; Plautus, *Mercator* 2.3.397.

pēnē, pēnisma (G) Thread, especially WEFT, on the bobbin or spool – sometimes therefore the latter too: in plural, the web as a whole (Fig. 25).

Euripides, *Hecuba* 471, *Ion* 197; *Greek Anthology* 6.160, 283; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1315.

PENELOPE The other WEAVER in Homer, being the converse of HELEN as the steadfast wife, using her domestic skills to defend her loyalty to husband and home (Fig. 26). Years of labour on the shroud are easily regarded as a dramatic conceit, but the thousands of hours necessary to MANUFACTURE an elaborate textile should not be underestimated. Her

weaving and unweaving not only parallel Odysseus' 'one step forward, two steps back' journey home, but also form a rather poignant background to his romantic adventures: seduced by Circe, while Penelope weaves; tempted by Sirens, while Penelope weaves, etc. And they are, perhaps, an implicit joke about the endless and repetitive nature of female tasks, more amusing because Odysseus too tires of his iterative journey and would rather be home, reclaiming their bed and distracting his wife from her work. Penelope's weaving is not portrayed as mindless, but both art and cunning, almost synonymous with planning – the more positive aspect of the female deviousness displayed by Klytemnestra's ensnaring web, and probably its root, since AGAMEMNON'S is the *other* homecoming. Not only expressing her continued role as wife, her adherence to the task creates and legitimates it in the face of social pressure and potential personal despair. Again, we find that while epic women share their feelings no more than epic men, their stories are displayed on their looms: weaving is the converse of war.

pēnion (G) A spool of WEFT (Fig. 25).

Iliad 23.762; *Greek Anthology* 6.288; Barber (1991: 273).

pēnitis (G) The WEAVER, i.e. ATHENA (Fig. 3).

Greek Anthology 6.289.

peplōma (G) General garments in TRAGEDY.

Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 613; Euripides, *Suppliants* 97.

peplos (G) A female garment, a single large draped and PINNED piece of WOOLLEN cloth, specifically the type offered to ATHENA at the Panathenaia, but also, generally, any WOVEN cloth as used for a covering, curtain, or VEIL. Although casually regarded as the epitome of Greek female dress, this type is in fact rather complex and problematic.

Distinguished from the **chitōn** by heavier fabric, being folded around the body without SEAMS, and pinned rather than BUTTONED, **peplos** routinely refers to general, everyday dress in Homer, and the type remains common in artistic representations throughout the fifth century, see **chitōn**. However, although commonly used for female garments – and long dresses worn by men, particularly PERSIANS – in drama, in wider literature **peplos** most commonly refers specifically to the Panathenaic **peplos**. It does not appear at BRAURON, and is not generally used for everyday female clothing. Overall, after the ARCHAIC period, the **peplos** was in practice primarily a RITUAL garment, important in artistic representations because it had a profound SYMBOLIC association with Greek tradition, particularly ideas of gender: it expressed FEMININE virtues of chastity, fecundity, and domestic labour (Lee 2005: 55–64, TEXTILE MANUFACTURE). The term is therefore more common and important in modern historical literature than in ancient SOURCES.

Iliad 5.194, *Odyssey* 18.292; Euripides, *Ion* 1421; Aeschylus, *Persians* 468, 1030; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 3.1.13; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 49.3; Van Wees (2005: 44–54).

pepluphos (G) A WEAVER of peploi, probably as cloth, not the specific garment.

Papyrus Tebtunis 5.250 (second century BC).

PERFUME From the Mycenaean period perfumes exerted a magical attraction for the Greeks. Held to be of divine origin, they were essential in RITUAL – after animal sacrifices, rare perfumes, e.g. myrrh, were burned as incense to please the gods – and births, MARRIAGES, and FUNERALS were accompanied by perfumed fumigations. A sweet smell is often described for special, particularly divine, textiles in epic (cf. DYEING). Perfumed oils played a major role during funerals: the dead were wrapped in perfumed shrouds and buried with

precious perfume receptacles and sweet smelling plants, such as roses, lilies and violets – probably symbols of eternal life. In addition, the Greeks considered bodily hygiene and physical beauty hallmarks of a civilized society; Hippocrates thus recommends sage- or cumin-based remedies as fumigations, rub-downs and baths, to keep the body in a state of health. In the stadium, ATHLETES smeared their bodies with oil, removed afterwards with strigils; following ablutions at gymnasia, men perfumed their bodies – iris and marjoram oils were particularly popular; during symposia, guests' feet were washed as a sign of hospitality, and they were offered WREATHS of flowers, perfumed wines, and rose-scented or clove-oil ointments. Women adorned themselves with a wide variety of perfumed oils, keeping these precious COSMETICS in delicate, beautifully decorated perfume containers (*alabastron*, *aryballos*). In the fourth century BC, Greeks adopted heavier scents, like frankincense and myrrh, once reserved for the gods, as fashionable perfumes. Benozin, cinnamon, sandalwood, castoreum, musk and civet are increasingly attested from this period.

Under Greek influence, the Romans were enthusiastic in their use of perfumes, often employing them excessively. Perfumes were extensively used in religious cults and FUNERARY rituals, where frankincense, myrrh, costus and musk became indispensable. Emperors were trend-setters in the conspicuous consumption of perfumes: Nero is supposed to have burnt a whole year's worth of myrrh in one day in cremating the body of his wife. But perfumes were also used abundantly in daily life, especially for washing. In the baths, everyone aspired to use perfumes of some kind: the Romans were responsible for spreading the use of *sapo*, a foamy paste made from goat-fat and soapwort ashes, the ancestor of soap. By perpetuating and developing Greek customs, the Romans helped maintain the ancient TRADE routes which brought raw perfume products from

India, Arabia and Africa. These raw materials were used by the Romans to prepare ointments, toilet-waters, perfumes, scented pills and powders, stored in a variety of containers, from traditional ceramic and stone vessels to a greater diversity of shape and colour in glass bottles.

Dayagi-Mendels (1993); Dalby (2002).

peribarides (G) Women's SHOES.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 45; Pollux, 7.94.

periblēma (G) General term for garments (cf. **epiblēma**) or a specific garment like a **palla**.

Aristotle, *Problemata* 870a27; *Cairo Papyri Zenon* 92.2.

periblēma, ta en Dionysou (G) ACTORS' clothing.

Maximus Tyrius, 7.10.

periēgētos (G) With a BORDER around, used with other simple border terms (e.g. **parhyphēs**) at BRAURON, so perhaps particularly a border all around the textile, not just at top and bottom.

IG II² 1514.43, 52; Cleland (2005b).

peripoikilos (G) PATTERNED all over, all around, e.g. Ptolemy's symposium tent, see **poikilos**.

Athenaeus, 5.196f; Von Lorentz (1937: 219); Cleland (2005b: 123–4).

peristiktos (G) EMBROIDERED all over, 'dappled' in literature, see **katastiktos**.

Nicander, *Therica* 464; Cleland (2005b).

perizoma (G) A LOINCLOTH, worn by ATHLETES, PRIESTS, blacksmiths, and as SOLDIER'S UNDERWEAR – used by Bonfante for various ETRUSCAN loincloths. This garment can be traced back to MINOAN times (on acrobats and bull leapers, Fig. 28 cf. 34) and was widely worn in the Greek

orientalizing period – eighth and seventh centuries BC: generally abandoned for athletics in Greece (see NUDITY) it was worn by Etruscans until at least 550 BC. The garments represented in Etruscan art take a variety of different forms: pieces of cloth loosely draped around the hips, or more carefully shaped and close-fitting garments of varying sizes, from codpieces to ‘Bermuda shorts’ or short APRONS or skirts – all fastened in a number of ways, using PINS, BUTTONS, ties or BELTS, and some decorated, e.g. plaid PATTERNS. Their basic purpose was to cover the sexual organs. Latin equivalents are *subligar*, *subligaculum*, *cingulum*, *licium* and *campestre*.

Pollux, 7.65; Pausanias, 1.44.1; Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 33; Bonfante (2003: 19–29, fig. 23).

pero, perones (L) Closed LEATHER SHOES worn outdoors, especially by the poor and

COUNTRY dwellers: could, however, simply denote the shoes worn by anyone not entitled to *calcei* (see processional frieze of Ara Pacis Augustae). **Perones** appear to have covered the ankles, cf. BOOTS. Juvenal alludes to a *pero altus*, presumably coming further up the leg, worn for cold and ice (14.185).

peronē, peronetēr (G) Tongue of a BUCKLE or BROOCH, and these items themselves.

Odyssey 19.226; Sophocles, *Women of Trachis* 925; Herodotus, 5.87.

peronēma, peronētris (G) A garment PINNED on the shoulder with a buckle or BROOCH.

Theocritus, 15.79, 15.21; *Greek Anthology* 7.413.

PERSIAN DRESS Achaemenid dress (558–330 BC) had two basic types (Figs 14, 35, 36, 49): a court gown, the ‘Persian robe’ and a two-piece TUNIC and TROUSER suit, the ‘Median dress’. The latter was a pair of



Figure 34 Female acrobat in patterned perizoma, open sakkos, kekryphalos or mitra.

anaxyrides under an *ependytēs*, long enough to be secured around the waist with a **BELT**: reliefs at Persepolis show it had straight side-**SEAMS** and was not fitted. The ensemble could be augmented with a coat with long hanging-**SLEEVES** (*kandys*, Iranian ‘gaunaka’) often draped over the shoulders like a cape, sometimes fastened over the chest with ties. The Greeks were fascinated with this ensemble – calling it ‘the most beautiful of garments’ (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.3) – which fuelled Greek visualizations of **AMAZONS** and was associated with ‘cavalry dress’: Alexander the Great wore a version following his victory over Darius III. A *kidaris* was worn on the head, but only the king wore the top erect.

The ‘Persian robe’, meanwhile, was a huge and voluminous *kalasiris* bag-tunic, **SEWN** up the sides from hem to waist and placed over the head, worn at court. It was fastened at the waist with a **SASH**, through which the excess fabric was pulled into hanging waterfall **FOLDS** – **CONSTRUCTED** without cutting, shaping or intricate stitching. Reliefs of the king at Persepolis show the long garment girded for more robust action: the front of the robe is hitched-up and tucked into the sash, the ‘sleeves’ – or over-fall of cloth at the shoulders – also hitched-up and possibly **PINNED** at the shoulder line. Traces of paint and incised decoration demonstrate that these court robes were elaborately worked with **COLOURFUL EMBROIDERY** or **WOVEN PATTERNS** – tiles from Susa depicting imperial guards show geometric patterns and schematic ‘fortress’ designs. All men wore **JEWELLERY**: **torques**, earrings, armlets and bracelets are all depicted in great detail at Persepolis.

Women’s dress followed male ‘Persian robes’, augmented with a turret-crown and a **VEIL**. Images of women on seals and **GEMS** from western Anatolia depict Persian women wearing these robes of pleated **LINEN** (cf. *chiton*) veiled, with long plaits decorated with **TASSELS**. As the empire grew, increasing wealth encouraged more **LUXURIOUS** fabrics with richer decoration,



Figure 35 **PERSIAN** – immortal – guard: Achaemenid court robe (*kalasiris*): two large squares of patterned parti-coloured cloth **SEWN** at the sides, **BELTED** to create wide **SLEEVES** and waterfall effect **FOLDS**; tightly curled **HAIR** and **BEARD**, **FILLET** of twisted or plaited fabric, **BRACELETS** and hoop earring, laced-up soft **LEATHER** or suede **SHOES** with tongue.

and rare DYES. By the Parthian period (239 BC–AD 224), Chinese SILK was a common feature of elite dress, alongside WOOL, COTTON and linen. Beautiful fabrics were created with METALLIC THREAD. PURPLE was generally the royal colour, while WHITE had RITUAL connotations, and lapis lazuli BLUE, olive GREEN, turquoise and many shades of BROWN were commonly used. Under the Sasanians (AD 224–651) reaction set in against foreign influences, although this feudal society afforded elites great luxury. The typical male dress was a loose long sheath, tightened at the waist with a wide sash, and worn with loose pleated TROUSERS tucked into boots. Women wore a combination of a blouse, skirt and veil. Over the blouse and skirt was a stole of elegant material, usually fine muslin or silk draped much like a sari, fastened around the waist as an additional skirt or draped over the shoulder. Another female style was a knee-length dress, revealing a pair of trousers underneath. The ornate dress and copious amounts of JEWELLERY seen in the funerary art of PALMYRA (Fig. 22) are regarded as results of Persian influence on the Roman world, as are the more elaborate and sumptuous FASHIONS of LATE ANTIQUITY, and dress-expressed distinctions between emperors/kings and the rest of the population.

Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.5.23; Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.25.3; Curtis and Tallis (2005); Vogelsang-Eastwood (2001: 65–76); Kent and Painter (1977); cheiris, kaunakēs, korē, peplos, persis, porphyreos, sarapis, stolē, thylakos.

persis (G) A PERSIAN cloak.

Aeschylus, *Persians* 59; Thucydides, 1.138.

petasos (G) A broad-brimmed FELT HAT, part of the INSIGNIA of ephebes, and a DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of Hermes. Latinized as **petasus**, a wide-brimmed hat worn when travelling.

Eratosthenes on Athenaeus, 11.499e; Pollux, 10.164.

phaidrunō (G) To BRIGHTEN, i.e. CLEAN.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 753; Euripides, *Helen* 678.

phainolē (G) A thick outer garment, CLOAK, equivalent to **paenula**.

Price Edict of Diocletian 19.51–2; Athenaeus, 3.97e.

phaiochiton (G) Dark-robed, see **phaios**, GREY.

Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 1049.

phaios (G) GREY, used of MOURNING clothes.

Polybius, 30.4.5; *SIG* 1219.5 (Gambreion, third century BC).

phalerae (L) Disc-shaped Roman MILITARY DECORATIONS.

pharmakon (G) A DYE or other chemical.

Herodotus, 1.98; Plato, *Republic* 420c; *Leiden Papyrus*, 10.25, *Papyrus Holmiensis* 13.46, 22.10; Barber (1991: 275).

pharos (G) Generally a large piece of cloth, specifically a wide CLOAK drawn over the head to VEIL by either sex, also used as a shroud or bedspread.

Odyssey 5.258, 230, 2.97; Sophocles, *Ajax* 916; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 198.

PHILOSOPHERS Often made a virtue out of defying everyday STATUS assertion; going barefoot (**anupodēteō**) and wearing short or poor quality clothes (**tribōn**, **ephestris**) to emphasize their disdain for worldly concerns. In Roman times, philosophers commonly adopted 'Greek' styles of dress for similar purposes (**abolla**, **barbatos**, **baxea**, **pallium**). The dress habits of philosophers are well discussed in literature, for obvious reasons, and perhaps provide insight into how less well-attested social groups also used dress to distinguish themselves and critique social structures and

assumptions. Perhaps ironically, the most closely comparable such group is PROSTITUTES.

phlogina (G) Flame-COLOURED garments, see RED.

Phylarchus, 41J.

phoenicus (L) SCARLET RED; Latin equivalent of **phoinikos**.

vestes, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 12.104.

phoinikis (G) RED or PURPLE cloth; the SPARTAN MILITARY cloak.

Aristophanes, *Wealth* 731, *Acharnians* 320, *Peace* 1173; Xenophon, *Spartans* 11.3.

phoinikos, phoinikeous, phoinikous (G) PURPLE-red, crimson or RED, cf. DYEING.

Herodotus, 1.98; 2.132; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.16, *Cyropaedia* 7.1.2; Cleland (2005b: 124–5).

PHRYGIAN CAP A form of **pilleus** with a floppy pointed top, worn in Roman art by easterners (Fig. 31), shepherds, and Attis in MYTHOLOGY.

phykos (G) A type of seaweed used as COSMETIC rouge by Greek women, and as a DYE: regulated at ANDANIA.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320; IG V(1) 1390.22.

pictus (L) With a pictorial design, probably EMBROIDERED.

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5.21.61; *acupingere, toga picta*.

pileō (G) Make FELT, generally compress. Barber (1991: 276); *Greek Anthology* 6.282.

pilidion (G) FELT SHOES.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 439; Plato, *Republic* 406d.

pilleus (pilleum) (L) A brimless conical cap (half-egg shaped), usually of FELT, also cloth, LEATHER or even old **lacernae**: the early Roman equivalent of the Greek **pilos** – worn by ETRUSCAN outdoor workers and ATHLETES – and the basis of later traditional PRIESTS' hats. By later republican and early imperial periods, elite Romans generally only wore the brimmed **petasus** when travelling. Rather, the **pilleus** was associated with the lower and working classes, particularly freed SLAVES, who were given one at their emancipation ceremony to wear on leaving the temple (Servius, *In Aeneidem* 8.564). Some women MOURNING the dead on the tomb of the Haterii can be recognized as newly-created FREEDWOMEN by these conical hats. It thus became a potent SYMBOL of liberty and freedom: *pilleum capire* meant to gain freedom (Plautus, *Amphitryon* 1.1.462), the **pilleus** appeared on coins, most famously between two daggers on the denarius issued by Brutus to commemorate the Ides of March – freedom from the tyranny of Julius Caesar's rule. When Nero died, the people rushed into the streets wearing **pillei**. The **pilleus** was also worn at Saturnalia, when everyone dressed down. It became the DIVINE ATTRIBUTE of Castor and Pollux. Both PHRYGIAN CAP and **pilleus Pannonicus** – a pill-box hat popular with SOLDIERS in the late third and early fourth centuries AD, worn by the Tetrarchs e.g. statue group, Piazza San Marco, Venice – were specialized forms of **pilleus**.

Suetonius, *Nero* 57.1; Martial, 14.1.2.

pilos, pilēma (G) FELT; as in SHOES or SOCKS, close-fitting HATS, or jerkins, CUIRASSES.

Herodotus, 4.23; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 542, 546; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 562; Thucydides 4.34.

PINK Probably a fairly common textile colour – relatively easily achievable with PLANT DYES – but not much remarked as a distinct colour (cf. **rhodinos**, **oxy-paiderotinus**) perhaps because high-saturation, BRIGHT, textile colours were

VALUED: pink often resembles low saturation, or washed out (*ekplytos*) RED, and was generally, like ORANGE, categorized as a subset of red in textiles. Used for clothing on some white-ground POTTERY.

PINS Given the generally draped CONSTRUCTION of Greek and Roman dress, pins or BROOCHES were more common than SEAMS or BUTTONS for fastenings – particularly for SLEEVES (*chitōn* cf. *peplos*) and to hold CLOAKS in place on the shoulder, *chlaina*, *emperonama*, *laena*. This allowed garments to be put to other uses – e.g. as blankets – well-fitted to different people, or arranged to give different appearances and allow various GESTURES. All these factors seem to have been VALUED in Greek and Roman dress. Pins are simpler than brooches, having only the sharp point, not the bow that holds it in place. A wide variety of types are known ARCHAEOLOGICALLY: styles changed over time, despite the pin's essential simplicity – which makes brooches a better dating tool.

acicula, *acus*, *botronatus*, *emporpaō*, cf. *fibula*, *peronēma*, HAIRPINS.

PLANT DYES Most ancient DYES came from plants – except MUREX and *kermes*, the European cochineal – principally madder for RED, woad for BLUE, weld for YELLOW and oak galls for BLACK. However, a wide variety of alternative sources, with a whole spectrum of various hues and tones, were available in the wild, through cultivation, and through TRADE. The primary sources were important for giving fast, or lasting, COLOURS, and by being fairly universally cultivatable, but it is likely that dye fastness was not as central a priority in ancient times, see MAINTENANCE.

PLANT FIBRES Including FLAX, HEMP, mallow and nettle FIBRES, all less amenable to natural DYES than protein fibres (WOOL,

SILK). The BRAURON catalogues more commonly specify quality than composition of fabric: descriptions of *stuppionon* (coarse) and *amorginon* (fine) are far more common than the few descriptions as LINEN (i.e. *linos*, *sindonitēs*). The Greeks saw a spectrum of quality in plant fibres, producing different qualities in textiles: from notably coarse fibres like hemp, mallow, and low-grade flax, through 'normal' flax, to fine or silken flax. Natural quality of fibres was compounded by levels of skill in preparation: RETTING, SPINNING and WEAVING. Plant fibres would also commonly have been used to make cordage – typically the coarser examples – and thread for SEWING and EMBROIDERY. Pliny also refers to the use of esparto grass in Spain, and fibres from a type of poppy for cloth.

NH 19.7.26–19.8.30, *togas*, 8.74.195.

platyalourgēs (G) A wide purple BORDER, emphasizing the general importance of PURPLE as a textile COLOUR, cf. *mesoalourgēs*, *paralourgēs*.

IG II² 1514.17, 46.

plekō (G) To plait or twine, as opposed to WEAVE.

Iliad 14.176; Aristophanes, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 458; Barber (1991: 269).

plumatilis/plumatus (L) Downy, or even made of FEATHERS: *plumatus* – used in late antiquity – could refer rather to damask WOVEN cloth (*polymita*) made with multi-coloured threads, and so similar to birds' plumage.

Nonius, 867L.

plynō (G) To wash, especially of FABRIC and clothes (cf. *louomai* 'bathe', *nizō* 'wash hands or feet'). Also 'washed to pieces', i.e. worn out, cf. *ekplytos*, CLEANING.

Iliad 22.155, *Odyssey* 6.31, 93; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 166; Barber (1991: 274).

pōgōnas (G) A BEARD.

Herodotus, 1.175, 8.104; Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 99.

poikileimōn (G) Dressed in PATTERNED clothing, decorated like the night sky, see DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 24.

poikileruthromelas (G) Marked with RED and BLACK: a good example of compound COLOUR terms.

Aristotle, *Fr.* 296.

poikilia (G) PATTERN; TAPESTRY; EMBROIDERY.

Plato, *Republic* 373a, 410a; *Papyrus Tebtunis* 703.93; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.8.10; **poikilos**.

poikilma, **poikilmos** (G) PATTERNED cloth, BROCADE, or EMBROIDERY; metaphorically, variety, e.g. starry sky.

Iliad 6.294; Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 1013; Xenophon, *Household Management* 9.2; **poikilos**.

poikilō (G) To work or WEAVE in various COLOURS; EMBROIDER; and metaphorically, embellish, describe artfully etc.

Iliad 18.590; Euripides, *Hecuba* 470; Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 8.15.

poikilomorphos (G) Variegated, PATTERNED, literally 'of diverse shapes'.

himatia, Aristophanes, *Wealth* 530.

poikilos (G) Of artifacts, particularly textiles, PATTERNED, many-COLOURED; commonly used of garments at BRAURON, sometimes as the sole description (*IG II*² 1522.15, 28) cf. **katastiktos**, **acu pingere**.

Iliad 5.735; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 923, 926, 936 etc.; Theocritus, 15.78; Cleland (2005b)

pokos (G) Raw WOOL, as fleece or tufts.

Iliad 12.451; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 574, *Birds* 714.

polos (G) A type of HEADDRESS worn by goddesses (e.g. APHRODITE) but generally, orbit, dome or axis.

Pausanias, 2.10.5, 4.30.6.

polymitos (G) Damask WEAVE, see **mitos**, **trimitos**.

Pliny, *NH* 8.74.196; Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 432.

polyrhabdos (G) With many STRIPES.

Aristotle, *Fr.* 294.

polyspathes (G) Close-WOVEN, and by implication, high quality.

Greek Anthology 6.39.

porphyra (G) The MUREX, therefore PURPLE DYE, COLOUR, or PATTERN on a garment.

Menander, 561, *IG V(1)* 1390.24 (ANDANIA); Polybius, 10.26.1.

porphyreos (G) In Homer, 'gleaming-darkly', of the sea (*Odyssey* 2.428), blood (*Iliad* 17.361), textiles (**pharos** *Iliad* 8.221; **peplos**, 24.796; **chlaina**, *Odyssey* 4.115), or rainbow (*Iliad* 7.547). Whether or not the MUREX was named for these uses, the later direct association is clear. In later literature, **porphyreos** describes dark-RED, PURPLE, and sometimes crimson.

Sappho, 64; Aeschylus, *Persians* 317; Herodotus, 1.50, etc.

porphyreus, **porphyreutēs** (G) A MUREX-fisherman.

Herodotus, 4.151; Aristotle, *Problems* 966b25; Pollux, 1.96.

porphyris (G) A PURPLE garment or textile.

Xenophon, *Household Management* 10.3; Pollux, 7.55; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 957.

porphyrobaptos; **porphyrobapheion** (G) PURPLE-DYED; a purple-dyeing workshop.

Plato *Comicus*, 208; Strabo, 27.3.18.

porphyroeidēs (G) A COLOUR resembling PURPLE – for the Greeks, purple was typified by MUREX-dyed cloth.

Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 529; Euripides, *Trojan Women* 124; Pseudo-Aristotle, *On Colours* 792a17.

POTTERY, PATTERNS OF TEXTILE ORIGIN The idea that many well-known abstract designs and motifs used to decorate Greek pottery originated in patterned textiles has gained general currency (Barber 1991: 365–6). It is impossible not to notice that many of the patterned textiles represented on pottery use similar motifs to the rest of the pots themselves. In the past, this resemblance was used to argue that such representations of patterned textiles were fanciful inventions of the pot painters, simply replicating their own motifs on the dress of the figures. This explanation tended to reinforce the centrality of pottery art – created by the vagaries of ARCHAEOLOGICAL preservation – imputing greater agency to the artist than the ‘dressmaker’ and downplaying the evidence for, and significance of, Greek dress. Reversing this view restores the centrality of dress and the textile arts to Greek life, and emphasizes the agency and artistry of those – generally women – who created textiles, and whose motifs were then copied by decorators of pottery. This is a more satisfying explanation on several levels: it is simply more likely that the significance of PATTERN was established and greater in dress; and, rather than conflating extant with important, it reminds us that all our evidence for the ancient world is the result of accidents of survival. This view has been elaborated to suggest TEXTILE MANUFACTURE as an effective mechanism for the transmission of both decorative patterns and symbolic motifs from the Minoan/ Mycenaean period through the Dark Ages (Barber 1991: 366–72). Again, this is a salutary reminder that skill and artistry in textile manufacture not only survives but flourishes in periods when traditional luxury

pursuits such as writing and purely decorative art wane.

POTTERY, REPRESENTATIONS OF DRESS Greek painted pottery often provides complex figurative scenes. Pottery is well preserved ARCHAEOLOGICALLY, includes representations of the complex FOLDS and PATTERNS which characterized much Greek dress – folds are visible, but often relatively unintelligible on statuary, patterns were originally painted on statuary, now lost – while vase painting compositions could be almost as complex as the artist cared to make them. Therefore, as well as providing valuable evidence about the physical nature of Greek dress, representations on pottery can also be very informative about the use of clothing to express social role, context and character. However, the effects of particular techniques – e.g. black vs. red-figure, white ground – must be taken into account: representations are not ‘photographic’ – there were undoubtedly conventions and fashions in depiction, in addition to the various aims and levels of skill of individual painters. Nevertheless, representations on pottery are one of the main SOURCES for Greek dress – although their very ubiquity makes it confusing at best, circular at worst, to argue the nature of particular garments on their basis alone. Several volumes exist as good starting points for appreciating representations of dress on pottery, notably Smith (1883) and Laver (1964). Pottery is discussed as evidence by almost every study of Greek dress, e.g. Stone (1980); Oakley and Sinos (1993); Kurtz and Boardman (1971), etc.

praetexta (L) A WOVEN, PURPLE, BORDER on garments, primarily the toga. The toga praetexta was worn by both male and female CHILDREN as an INSIGNIA of their free birth and purity, and to indicate their RITUALLY pure, non-sexual STATUS, perhaps being APOTROPAIC. The garment was, according to tradition, inherited by the

Romans from the ETRUSCANS, worn in early times by Roman kings, and later by higher magistrates, emperors, and some PRIESTS for certain rituals (Fig. 45). VESTAL VIRGINS wore a praetextate VEIL (*suffibulum*). The *ricinium*, worn by women in MOURNING, was also a praetextate garment. Men performing FUNERAL rites wore a dark-coloured (*pulla*) toga with a praetexta (Festus, 236). Statues of deities were dressed in the toga praetexta. In short, the praetexta indicated not simply status, but also ritual purity and contact with the divine.

Sebesta (2005: 113–20) for a full list of wearers and references.

PRAETORIAN GUARD The troops responsible for guarding and attending the emperor had a particularly high profile and STATUS, although their clothing and equipment appears much the same as other legionaries' – but standard-bearers wore lion-SKINS not wolf or bear. On some state reliefs (e.g. the Great Trajanic Frieze) they wear a rather old-fashioned Attic style HELMET, probably an artistic convention. When on duty in Rome, however, the Praetorians wore the toga, not military dress, so as to avoid an obvious MILITARY presence in the city, although ARMOUR was worn in special circumstances – e.g. Nero's show for King Tiridates of Armenia's visit.

Tacitus, *Annals* 16.27, *Histories* 1.38; Suetonius, *Nero* 13.1.

prasinos/us (G/L) Leek-green, light GREEN, rarely used in Greek for FABRIC or clothing (cf. *batracheios*) more a general COLOUR term. Used specifically in Latin for the colour of a CIRCUS FACTION.

Aristotle, *Meteorology* 372a8; *synthesis*, Martial, 10.29.4, 13.78; Suetonius, *Caligula* 55.2.

PRESSES Clothes could be pressed and kept in a clothes press (*pressorium*, *prelum*, e.g. Pompeian paintings and extant metal fittings, carbonized wood from Herculaneum).

PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN Our best source for the available range and relative COST of clothing: issued by the emperor and Tetrarchs in late 301 AD, primarily to counter serious inflation – but characterized as curbing *avaritia*, greed. It aimed to fix maximum charges for a wide range of commodities produced in the Roman empire, and so provides a wealth of information about clothing – places of MANUFACTURE, workers' wage-rates in different industry sectors, relative prices for different kinds and qualities of garment, and clothing as opposed to other goods or services, names of items. It provides a snapshot of conditions in 301 – rescinded fairly soon afterwards (at least by 305) it was, perhaps predictably, a failure. The text is known from around 40 fragmentary inscriptions – various promulgation copies, most Latin, some in Greek translation – nearly all from eastern parts of the empire. How well it was known in the west is debatable, despite clearly being meant to apply to the whole empire.

Although the prices recorded were intended as maximums, it is possible that their estimates were already too low but they remain valuable as comparative data. The types of clothing mentioned were presumably in current use: interestingly the toga is not mentioned, although there are still SHOES described as patrician *calcei*. In fact the section on FOOTWEAR (9.5–25) provides good evidence for the variety available: *calicares*, *caligae*, *calcei*, *gallicae* (double- or single-soled) *taurinae*, *soleae*, *biriles*, *socci*. However, the various types are simply listed, not described – e.g. it is impossible to know what the military *caliga* was at this date: other evidence suggests it was (as now defined) no longer being worn by SOLDIERS. The *caliga* – without HOBNAILS – is listed for muleteers and COUNTRY workers, at a relatively high price (120 denarii), suggesting it was heavy-duty: most shoes fall between 60 and 100 denarii. WOVEN textiles were all very costly, given the maximum daily wage listed for labourers (25 denarii) and carpenters (50

denarii) and the price of basic foods. The cheapest **birrus** is 1,500 denarii, the cheapest **TUNIC** 500, even a simple **LOINCLOTH** 200. Prices cited are often much higher than this – a good quality undecorated **dalmatic** is 11,000 denarii – and once **PURPLE** or **SILK** is added, go sky-high: a linen **mafortium** with purple **STRIPES** is 55,000, one pound of double-DYED purple silk is 150,000, while separate prices are listed for **holosericus** (all-silk) and **subsericus** (part-silk). The *Edict* refers to several different qualities of purple, suggesting there was still a real commercial market – interesting given imperial restrictions on its use.

Another factor was items' places of **MANUFACTURE**: clearly some centres were known for particular quality garments, and their products assessed accordingly. Thus in the **LINEN** section – one of the longest – five centres of production in the Eastern Empire are singled out: Tarsus, Laodicea, Byblos, Scythopolis, and Alexandria. The best-quality tunic from Scythopolis is listed at 4,000 denarii more than the best from Tarsus. The *Edict* also gives an idea of the geographical spread of some of the major production centres in the empire: **birri**, for example, are still being produced in Canusium in Italy, but also in Belgica, Dacia, Britain, Greece, North Africa, and even various eastern centres. Prices also vary according to the social **STATUS** of the intended wearer – items are listed as used by patricians, **SENATORS**, **EQUITES**, **SOLDIERS**, women, **CHILDREN**, country dwellers and **SLAVES**: these prices, and presumably the clothing itself, reflect the increasingly hierarchical nature of Roman society.

PRICES Clothing was always expensive in the ancient world: **TEXTILE MANUFACTURE** was labour-intensive and the **COST OF CLOTHING** reflected this – **JEWELLERY**, however, appears to have been valued according to materials used, not the craftsmanship involved, as were **LUXURY** textiles using **PURPLE**, **SILK** and **GOLD**. The best source is the **PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN**, but no comparable document exists for

other periods: most other evidence comes from chance mentions of prices, in literary sources often those items the writer thinks were outrageously expensive rather than typical (e.g. 10,000 sesterces for a Tyrian **lacerna** of the best **COLOUR**, Martial, 8.10.1). Other sources are **EGYPTIAN** papyri recording marriage and dowry contracts, wills and apprenticeship agreements, **MILITARY** supply documents from Vindolanda, or graffiti from textile workshops in Pompeii.

PRIESTS Unlike in **CHRISTIAN** traditions, defined or hierarchical forms of dress were not particularly common in Greek and Roman religion. Many Greek rituals were conducted by the participants themselves, although sanctuaries tended to be managed by priests or priestesses, sometimes distinguished by some aspects of dress – dress prohibitions seem to have been equally important for participants, see **CLOTHING REGULATIONS**. Many items and aspects of **RITUAL** dress seem significant, but varied from context to context. Thus, for instance, the priestesses of **ATHENA** at Lindos were barred from wearing **GOATSKIN**, but this regulation's existence implies this was not generally the case. Some festivals apparently defined differing sacred statuses of participants through dress (e.g. **ANDANIA**), yet other similar festivals did not.

Roman state religion did not employ professional priests: religious duties were usually carried out by men – and some women – from elite families. Religious duties were only a part, sometimes very small, of their lives, and did not generally involve the wearing of a special **COSTUME**. Men would pull a fold of their **toga** over their heads when sacrificing (**velatus**), a woman acting as a priestess might wear a woollen **FILLET** (**infula**), while both might wear **WREATHS** (Figs 27, 45). Some of the older priesthoods (**flamen Dialis**, **flaminica Dialis**, **flamines**, **luperci**, **VESTAL VIRGINS**)

however, had more complex prescriptions (*albogalerus*, *apex*, *galerus*, *infibulatus*, *laena*), and the ETRUSCAN *haruspex* had special dress. Cults imported into Rome, especially from the east, might also bring with them specialized dress for priests and priestesses, quite exotic and alien to the Romans, e.g. *ISIS*, *Galli*. These may also have inspired some priests' elaborate CROWNS in the imperial period: Domitian wore a golden crown decorated with effigies of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva to preside over their festivities, priests accompanying him wore similar crowns with images of the emperor himself (Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.4). Some portrait statues of important people who acted as priests, especially in the imperial cult in the Eastern provinces, also show crowns with deities or emperors.

proschisma (G) SHOE slit in front, or generally, the fronts of shoes.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 842.

PROSTITUTES There is a common misconception that all prostitutes in antiquity wore dress identifying them as sexually available – as preposterous as imagining all contemporary prostitutes in a standard 'UNIFORM' of mini-skirt, boob-tube and stiletto heels. Ancient prostitution, as modern, incorporated women of differing skills, economic capabilities and social strata. Scholarship now stresses that no black-and-white model exists: all prostitutes walked a tightrope of respectability and dishonour. The highest-earning courtesans might earn fortunes and enjoy the patronage of – usually – one male client, but at the other end of the social scale, streetwalkers struggled to make a living or, indeed, live. The majority of prostitutes lay between these two extremes, working for pimps, in general or specialist brothels, or as entertainers – dancers, musicians, etc. perhaps routinely performing sexual roles. Naturally, the money and STATUS achieved by individual prostitutes

affected their dress style and ability to wear certain garments.

The subtle relationship between prostitution and dress obeys the principle of 'levels of concealment' (Dalby 2002) from totally naked to conspicuously covered. In CLASSICAL Athens high-ranking courtesans (*hetairai*) demanded high prices – not necessarily always for sexual favours; fantastical vase-paintings often show them at symposia reclining on couches and stripped to the waist, but texts suggest that in reality these women were circumspect in their dress. As 'respectable' disreputable women, great *hetairai* wore fine garments at home, in essence dressing no differently from wealthy citizen wives – outdoors, like citizen women, they wore VEILS. Thus *hetairai* operated on the level of total concealment. In contrast, the lowest stratum of Greek prostitution, the *pornai*, are recorded standing outdoors partly or fully naked, in a bid to procure passing trade, thus operating within the framework of total exposure. Inexpensive semi-TRANSPARENT tunics (*lēdos*) could be worn by flute-girls, dancers are depicted in transparent tunics and/or G-strings (*diazōnē*), but not all Greek entertainers wore the same 'uniform' of a cheap transparent dress.

It is also difficult to assign prostitution a specific COLOUR – as red in contemporary imagination. *Anthinos* ('flowery') garments are often associated with prostitutes, and *krokōtoi* indicated that, at the very least, the wearer was 'fun loving' – both were highly visible, not circumspect. It was widely supposed that Roman prostitutes were immediately recognizable by dress – wearing the *toga* in rejection of the moral code incorporated in traditional female dress – but this point of view is difficult to justify; the Latin texts tend to emphasize the *toga* for adulteresses and women who fail to live up to the MATRONLY ideal of chastity, as an implied slur on character. In other words, these may be respectable women fallen from grace, not professional prostitutes – although perhaps in the Roman mind an adulteress *was* a whore.

Moreover, there is no evidence that prostitutes and adulteresses were compelled to wear the **toga**; no such LAW exists. McGinn suggests that the toga was one of many garments worn by prostitutes (**togata** may have been a by-word for sexually precocious, therefore MASCULINE, women). The **toga** was a very cumbersome and unbecoming garment: references to **toga**-wearing women may concern the ideology of GENDER rather than everyday practice. Plautus' comedies depict prostitutes in a wide variety of colourful FEMININE garments, and Horace suggests that their dresses were so transparent that they might as well be naked (*Satires* 1.2.95–104): no doubt different types of Roman prostitutes were as susceptible to the vagaries of dress, wealth and status as their Greek counterparts – absence of a **stola** may have been enough to mark out prostitutes. Certainly there were similar levels of concealment in Rome: brothel whores and streetwalkers are described standing naked in public.

Martial, 2.39; 6.64.4; 10.52; Juvenal, 2.68–70; Dalby (2002: 111–24); McGinn (2003); Llewellyn-Jones (2003); **amiculum**, **baukides**.

PROVINCIAL DRESS People in the Roman provinces neither wore dress identical to that of Romans in Italy, nor exactly the clothing of their ancestors before incorporation into the Roman empire. Some might adopt 'Roman dress' – e.g. **toga** for male local elites wishing to emphasize their STATUS as Roman citizens – women were often less keen to adopt Roman fashions. Most first- and second-century AD provincials did not adopt metropolitan Roman dress styles, but dress did change as a result of Roman influence – e.g. TROUSERS in Roman GAUL. Dress varied from area to area according to local geographical conditions and traditions, and influence was not all one-way: some 'provincial' forms of dress were adopted by the Romans and spread through the empire as a whole: e.g. **sagum**, **cucullus**, **birrus**, **dalmatic**.

EASTERN PROVINCES, GALLIC, GERMANIC and JEWISH DRESS, PALMYRA, NORICUM AND PANNONIA, BARBARIANS.

psimythion (G) WHITE-lead, a pigment, and especially a COSMETIC to whiten the face. It was poisonous, but nevertheless used throughout antiquity and medieval and early modern periods. In Greek culture, whiteness was a desirable characteristic, powerfully SYMBOLIC of FEMININITY and STATUS.

Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 878, 929; Xenophon, *Household Management* 10.2; Thomas (2002: 1–16).

pteryges/pteruges (G/L) Strips of LEATHER worn by Roman SOLDIERS on the shoulders or upper arms and round the hips, attached to an undergarment beneath ARMOUR.

pteryx (G) Generally, a wing, also used for fluttering parts of garments, e.g. the OVERFOLD of the **chitōn**, cf. **dipterygon**.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 325; Pollux, 7.62.

pullus (L) GREY, BLACK, deep BROWN (cf. **melas**) the colour of MOURNING clothes, also indicated low STATUS, poverty.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.48, Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.4.24; Livy, 45.7.4.

PURPLE 'The' colour of Greek and Roman dress, with extensively studied SYMBOLIC meanings. However, its centrality did not really focus on 'the colour purple': not all purples were equal, and not all purple was purple. The symbolism of purple was very much bound up with its origins, shellfish DYES prized not only for their distinctive colour qualities, but also because they were difficult to obtain and apply, fast and long lasting. The colour purple could also, however, be made in other ways, e.g. double-dyeing with woad and madder: a washed-out (**ekplytos**) purple garment at BRAURON indicates that this was more common than we might imagine. Shellfish dyes produced a range of colours, from what

we would call deep crimson RED, through purple, to violet or even 'Prussian' BLUE: all of which appear to share the cultural associations of 'purple', implying a very high appreciation of dye processes and results.

Purple in Greek culture denotes STATUS and blood – also love through association with APHRODITE. It is a heroic colour, much used in tragedy – see AGAMEMNON, generally as *porphyreos*, cf. *porphyra*, *porphyroidēs*, but once also as *halourgēs*, the seemingly less archaic synonym used at BRAURON e.g. *halourgēma*, *halourgis*, *halourgopōlēs*, *mesalourges*, *platyalourgēs*, *paralourges*. In Rome, purple was worn by kings in earliest times – *toga purpurea* being an early symbol of kingship – by generals at their TRIUMPHS (*toga picta*), and for imperial military commanders' cloaks, favourites of emperors. Clavi on tunics were purple, their width designating SENATORIAL or EQUESTRIAN status, as was the *praetexta* BORDER. Purple was, in other words, formally associated with STATUS in Rome, and perhaps APOTROPAIC. The most expensive double-dyed (*dibapha*) Tyrian purple was first used for *praetexta* in 63 BC (Pliny, *NH* 9.63.137): in the empire the richest purple dyes were FASHION items for those who could afford them despite their nasty smell (Tyrian purple *lacerna* 10,000 sesterces, Martial, 8.10.1). COST and status implications meant occasional LAWS attempted to control and restrict use. Both Caligula and Nero tried to restrict or discourage the wearing of purple in public, to avoid being outshone by others; further attempts were made in the fourth century AD. Many different words denoted purple: the MUREX itself (*purpureus*, *conchyliatus*); places of manufacture (*tyrianthus*, *puniceus*); materials most resembled (*amethystinus*, *hyacinthinus*, *ianthinus*, *violarius*); and terms that otherwise denote blue (*thalassinus*) or red (*ostrinus*, *phoinikis*, *phoinikos*).

Plutarch, *Romulus* 25; Suetonius, *Caligula* 35.1, *Nero* 32.3; *Code of Justinian* 4.40.1, of *Theodosius* 10.20; Barber (1991: 228–35); Reinhold (1970: 37–47); *himation*, *holoporphynos*,

kausia, *mulleus calceus*, *ricinium*, *sarapis*, *soccus*.

PURPLE DYES The process of MUREX DYEING was lost in late antiquity – probably due to the shift from outdoor to indoor RITUAL and STATUS activities in the Byzantine period – and only rediscovered in the nineteenth century. Since then, scholars have debated exactly what COLOURS are possible, from which shellfish, using which process. Each purple dyeing requires removing the tiny dye sacs of hundreds or thousands of individual shellfish. These must then be chemically 'reduced' to form a water soluble compound which can be applied as a dye: essentially a form of fermentation, probably using a variety of processes in antiquity. Along with the species and origin of the shellfish, these produced variations in the finished colour. Recent experiments have also suggested that purple dye application is light-sensitive: the colour becomes BLUE if exposed to light during the formation of the dye bond.

This reduction makes MORDANTING unnecessary, and promotes a very fast dye-bond, not subsequently degraded by exposure to light or washing (cf. otherwise similar *indicum*). Meanwhile, the colours produced are visually BRIGHT, rich and complex, contrasting favourably with the generally relatively DULL and frequently fading colours of plant dyes (murex dyes, Pliny, *NH* 9.61.130–62.135; cheaper plant dyes, 16.31.77, 22.3.3; range of colours 21.22.45–6). The VALUE of purple dyes, therefore, was not only aesthetic or economic, but also practical: they remained both a status SYMBOL, and because of their origin, an important item of TRADE, throughout the Greek and Roman periods.

Vitruvius, 7.13; Ziderman (2004: 40–5); Lowe (2004: 46–8); *bucinum*, *halourgopōlēs*, *murex*, *porphyra*.

purpureus (L) PURPLE, dark-RED, violet, purple-BLACK or -brown. Latin equivalent of *porphyreos*, its use in poetry and epic

mimics Homer (e.g. 'shining' Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.590). Famously used for the clothing of kings and EMPERORS.

Suetonius, *Nero* 25.1; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.405, blood, 9.349; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.103.

pyrgōtos (G) Edged with a battlement PATTERN, used for chitōniskoi at BRAURON (Fig. 46).

Strabo, 15.3.19; *IG* II² 1514.25, 46.

Q

quasillum, quasillus (L) A small WOOL- Cato, *Roman Republic* 133; Cicero, *Philippic*
basket. 3.4.10.

R

radius (L) A SHUTTLE.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.56; Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.476.

RAINWEAR Romans used various CLOAKS in wet weather, especially the **paenula**, **lacerna** and **cucullus**. **Bardocuculli** may have had the lanolin left in for WATERPROOFING.

paenula, Juvenal, 5.76–9; Martial, 14.130; **lacerna**, Pliny, *NH* 18.60.225; **cucullus**, Martial, 14.140[139]

ralla (L) A thin TUNIC, with an open WEAVE.

Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.229; Nonius, 865L.

RAWHIDE Animal SKIN scraped of flesh and dried, un-TANNED, so requiring relatively little effort to prepare cf. LEATHER. Flexibility could be achieved by working: rawhide is naturally less flexible than tanned skins, compensated for by extreme toughness. It can be shaped while wet, but dries hard. Used for SHOE soles, ARMOUR, and anything requiring toughness without flexibility or exposure to water.

RECONSTRUCTION, OF CLOTHING Since the Renaissance, scholars and costume designers have debated the actual methods and modes of CONSTRUCTION of ancient dress – originally to accommodate portrait artists’ attempts to create a ‘classical’ look (voluminous folds of satin, SILK or velvet over

contemporary dress) emulating their sitters’ Greek and Roman heroes. Van Dyck, Lely, Nattier, and Reynolds opted to paint aristocratic clients in such ‘antike’ dress, which had a tremendous impact on the development of theatrical COSTUME, especially the development of court masques and ballet in the seventeenth century, but also the classically themed fancy dress balls of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – beautifully photographed by Madame Yvonde.

The first proper study of ancient dress was Hope’s *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (1812), carefully copying the dress styles of antiquity from ancient POTTERY and statues, to enhance artists’ comprehension of classical dress. However, Hope merely copied what he saw, not considering that ancient art might provide fantastical depictions of dress. Consequently, Hope’s illustrations can be confusing for analysing how ancient dress was DRAPED, cut, FASTENED or SEWN. Thanks largely to the vogue for historical costume on the stage, the study of the reconstruction of ancient dress advanced considerably throughout the nineteenth century, culminating in Evans’ *Chapters on Greek Dress* (1893), commemorating Oxford University Dramatic Society’s 1892 performance of Aristophanes’ *Frogs*. The early decades of the twentieth century saw a particular scholarly vogue for costume studies, attempting to analyze and recreate

the rudiments of classical drapery: e.g. Houston *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian Costume* (1920); *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration* (1932); Heuzey *Histoire du costume dans l'antiquité classique* (1935). These have provided a solid foundation for latter-day studies of ancient dress, although scholarship now acknowledges certain errors and oversights: Houston's understanding of Minoan clothing is now dismissed as untenable, and recent reinterpretation of MINOAN methods of depicting the clothed body radically alter our comprehension of Bronze Age Aegean dress (Llewellyn-Jones 2005: 14–29; Marcar 2005: 30–9). Recent publications, e.g. Vogelsang-Eastwood's *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (1993), have forced us to reconsider reconstructing pre-Classical dress. Finally, the latest scholarly involvement with Hollywood movies, e.g. Stone's *Alexander* (2004), has afforded a rare opportunity to reconstruct ancient clothing accurately and in considerable detail.

RED WHITE, BLACK and red appear to be the basic cross-cultural COLOUR triad: in general, Greece and Rome are no exception (Cleland 2003, forthcoming b). Both cultures seemed to see red as the most 'colourful' colour and paradigmatic DYE, see *baphē*. However, much of the SYMBOLISM attached to pure red in many cultures – blood, sexuality, etc. – seems in Greece and Rome to have been delegated to specific shades: the red-PURPLES and yellow-red SAFFRON (*porphyreos*, *purpureus*, *croceus*, *flammeum*, *krokos*). Red itself seems to have more of an association with MILITARY – and RITUAL – violence and clothing (e.g. Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 1028). Outside of this, red garments seem to have been valued for their visibility, and BRIGHT shades, such as those produced by DYEING with kermes insects (*coccinus* etc., *hysge*, *kokkinos*, *phoinikis*, *phoenicus*), are emphasized over the colour itself, perhaps explaining the very wide range of terms used for this colour in clothing.

beudos, *calcei patricii*, *clavus*, *himation nymphikon*, *infula*, *kalumma*, *mulleus calceus*, *ostrinus*, *phlogina*, *poikileruthromelas*, *sandarakē*.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES For the Greek world, regional differences in dress are generally discussed under separate headings (see IONIAN DRESS, DORIC DRESS) while HELLENISTIC non-Greek regional dress comes under its origins, e.g. PERSIAN DRESS, EGYPTIAN DRESS. For the dress of various regions of the Roman empire see: PROVINCIAL DRESS, ROMANIZATION; GALLIC, GERMANIC, EASTERN PROVINCES, NORICUM AND PANNONIA, PALMYRA, SAMNITE, ETRUSCAN.

reticulum (L) A HAIRNET, traditionally WOVEN by a BRIDE from WOOL DYED with *luteus*: worn on the night before the WEDDING, then DEDICATED to the Lares.

Petronias, 6.7.6; Juvenal, 2.96; Nonius, 869L.

RETTING The process by which the tough outer husks of plant stalks, especially FLAX, were removed from the inner FIBRES by rotting – through immersion in water, or exposure to dew. Different methods took different amounts of time, and produced different qualities in the resulting fibre, but overlong retting – making the husks easier to remove – would degrade the quality of the inner fibres, making them brittle.

Barber (1991: 13).

rhabdos (G) A rod used in WEAVING, cf. *kanon*, or to beat impurities from WOOL. Also a magic wand, divining-rod, or STRIPES – on animals or clothes.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 576; Barber (1991: 274); Herodotus, 4.67; Pollux, 7.53.

rhaptē (G) Of various COLOURS, EMBROIDERED.

Greek Anthology 12.44.

rhaptō (G) To SEW together, stitch – metaphorically, devise or plot.

Iliad 12.296; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 513, *Knights* 784, *Clouds* 538, *Assemblywomen* 24.

rhaps (G) SEWN, stitched or patched, EMBROIDERED – metaphorically, continuous.

Odyssey 24.228; Anaxilas, 18.6; Pindar, *Nemean Odes* 2.2.

rhagma (G) Something DYED, cf. **rhegos**.

Barber (1991: 275).

rhegos, **rhēgos** (G) A blanket, rug and garment in Homer, probably WOOLLEN.

Iliad 24.644, *Odyssey* 4.297; bed *Iliad* 9.661; *Odyssey* 3.349; garment, 6.38; Barber (1991: 275).

rhēzō (G) To DYE, cf. **baptō**.

Barber (1991: 275) cf. Epicharmus, 107.

rhapis (G) A woman's hand-held – feather – FAN.

Greek Anthology 6.290.

rhodanē (G) Like **krokē**, spun thread or WEFT.

Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1137; Barber (1991: 273).

rhodinos (G) Made of roses, e.g. **stephanē**, also PINK.

Anacreon, 83; *Papyrus Oxyrrinchus*, 496.4; *Code of Justinian* 11.9.3.

rhogeus, **rhēgeus**, **rhēgistēs** (G) A DYER.

Barber (1991: 275); *IG V(1)* 209.27 (Sparta).

rhoiskos (G) Literally, a small pomegranate, hence a round TASSEL.

Exodus 28.29(33).

rhumma (G) Soap, see CLEANING.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 377; Plato, *Republic* 429e.

rica (L) A kerchief worn as a VEIL – especially by **flaminica Dialis**, wives of **flamines** – or used as a handkerchief.

Aulus Gellius, 10.15.28; Festus, 288; Nonius, 865L.

ricinium (L) Generic term for a square MANTLE, worn thrown back or double. Mentioned in the *Twelve Tables* (c. 450 BC) in connection with funerals, in later Roman times it was worn by women in MOURNING. It had a PURPLE BORDER (**praetexta**) and seems to have been the same dark COLOUR as the **toga pulla**.

Festus, 275; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.132–3; Nonius, 869L.

RINGS Common in the Greek and Roman worlds, notably as identifying signet rings, but also decorative. Rings are prohibited by some CLOTHING REGULATIONS, as part of a general – possibly magical – concern with items that bound or encircled the body, or simply because they were the most common form of GOLD JEWELLERY. Rings were the only form of jewellery routinely worn by Roman men, gradually introduced into Roman society from Greece: at first only one – often a seal ring – was worn on the fourth finger of the left hand, later rings were worn on all joints of the second and little fingers. In early Rome men wore iron rather than gold rings – which were emblems of warlike valour and worn by generals at their TRIUMPH. Senators at first wore gold rings only abroad, but later regularly wore multiple gold rings – often set with GEMS. The custom of wearing a ring on the middle finger was limited to the northern provinces. Rings were used as a sign of social STATUS in the early imperial period. Under Augustus, the **EQUITES** were the iron-ring-wearing class, and Tiberius introduced a regulation that only those who were freeborn, had a freeborn father and grandfather, and owned 400,000 sesterces, could wear gold rings: wealthy freedmen often ignored such

attempts at regulation. Rings distinguished those of middle rank from commoners, but the latter would produce a signet ring to seal a contract, and some SLAVES wore rings decorated with a bit of gold. Rings were also frequently worn by women, without such status considerations.

Rings found in ARCHAEOLOGICAL contexts all over the Roman world have engraved 'intaglio' stones – or glass imitations – as seals and personal emblems. Augustus used three different designs for sealing official documents: a sphinx, Alexander the Great and his own portrait. In later reigns, rings were given to those with free access to the emperor, and ring portraits of the imperial family seem to have been especially popular in the later empire. 'Ring keys' have also been found, incorporating a small key used for locking a box or casket. An iron ring without a stone was a common betrothal gift: married women might also wear rings, but 'wedding rings' were not considered essential.

Aulus Gellius, 10.10; Petronius, 71; Pliny, *NH* 33.4.9, 7–8, 11–12, 6.17–20, 24–5; Suetonius, *Augustus* 50; *annulus, daktylios*.

RITUAL DRESS Greek and Roman religion and ritual were complex and multifaceted, with no standard liturgical dress and minimal separation of officials from participants. The evidence of CLOTHING REGULATIONS, alongside LITERARY sources, suggests WHITE dress was generally standard, symbolizing and demonstrating the state of ritual purity – inverted in MOURNING rituals. They show concern with BELTS, RINGS and other GIRDING, perhaps explained by the almost ubiquitous use of textiles in the form of FILLETS or bands in ritual practices of all kinds (e.g. *agrenon, tainia, vitta*). Some clothing regulations also prohibit DECORATED (*anthinos*) or PURPLE clothing, and GOLD, perhaps from a desire to assert community over individual STATUS in ritual (Cleland forthcoming a). Specific COLOURS (e.g. *krokos, toga praetexta*) were appropriate for some INITIATORY rituals.

Where Roman PRIESTS were not otherwise distinguished, SACRIFICERS might VEIL the head – *capite velato*, one of many links between sacrifice, grief and mourning. This was a Roman custom – sacrifices to HERAKLES at the Ara Maxima were carried out according to the Greek custom, with bare head. A wide variety of garments had some ritual significance (*chlaina, licium, peplos, PERFUME, pileus, praetexta, tutulus*) discussed under specific headings, see WEDDING, PRIESTS, *flamines, haruspex, galerus, infula, ISIS, luperci, mitra, perizoma, Sali, VESTAL VIRGINS*. In short, there were no hard and fast rules about ritual dress, but instead a wide variety of practices which were appropriate in different ritual situations.

ROMA The goddess who personified Rome wore a distinctive costume consisting of a short, belted TUNIC pinned on one shoulder, stout calf-length BOOTS and a HELMET.

ROMANIZATION The adoption of the *toga* by men in the PROVINCES is often seen by both ancient and modern commentators as signalling more general adoption of Roman customs and ideology. But although some provincials – especially members of the elite – might on occasion adopt the *toga* as a sign of their allegiance to Rome, it is clear from funerary monuments that most – especially women, see GALLIC dress – wore local fashions and did not rush to adopt Roman forms. Nevertheless, the arrival of Roman rule did often result in some changes in dress, most notoriously the abandonment of TROUSERS – seen by the Romans as typical BARBARIAN dress – in Gaul.

Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.2; Suetonius, *Augustus* 60.

russus, russeus (L) RED, the colour of one of the CIRCUS FACTIONS.

vela, Lucretius, 4.75; *tunica*, Aulus Gellius, 2.26.6.

S

SACRIFICE Romans officiating at sacrifices did not usually wear special clothing: men wore a **toga** with a fold over the head as a **VEIL** (Fig. 45) and magistrates their **toga praetexta**; women officiating in a religious capacity veiled with the **palla** (Fig. 27). The early imperial style of draping the **toga** – allowing a portion to be raised over the head more easily – continued to be used for sacrificing in the third and fourth centuries AD, when other styles had otherwise become more fashionable. Images of the emperor sacrificing on Trajan's column, however, suggest that the **toga** was not essential for generals leading sacrifices on campaign. The attendants (*victimarii*) who cared for, and were responsible for dispatching, sacrificial animals had bare torsos, and wore a kilt-like garment (**limus**) round their hips fastened with a belt or sash. The animals were adorned with sashes over their bodies and **vittae**, with hanging **TASSELS**, wound round their heads and horns. The young boy attendants (*camilli*) are generally shown wearing belted tunics.

SAFFRON This **PLANT DYE** and spice – see **CROCUS** – seems to have been significant from the **MINOAN** period. It is the **DIVINE ATTRIBUTE** (**krokopeplos**) of Dawn in Homer, and part of the **RITUAL** dress for girls' **INITIATION** into the cult of **ARTEMIS** at Athens. Saffron has always been highly

prized for the intense golden **YELLOW** it imparts to food and textiles, its subtle, sweet flavour and scent, and especially because it is labour-intensive to produce and harvest. As such, it also seems to have been regarded by the Greeks as a particularly sexy and feminine **COLOUR** (**baukides**, **krokōtos**) appropriate for **WEDDINGS** and seductions. It was, perhaps, also seen as one of the prototypical dyes: it is unclear whether **anthokrokos** and **baphē** refer to dyeing in general, or saffron specifically. **Krokos** was a distinct category of colour in Greek textiles, not used interchangeably with yellow or **RED**, see **ORANGE**. This does not seem so in Latin, where 'saffron' frequently comes under **luteus**, perhaps explained by the greater 'industrialization' of **DYEING** by the main Roman period. This would have de-emphasized its qualities – as a direct dye requiring only hot water, producing a vivid colour, with a pleasant smell as opposed to an acrid odour – in relation to the fact that it is not fast. However, it remains a likely candidate for Roman **BRIDAL** wear, ritually produced at home.

saga sumere (L) Literally 'to put on military cloaks' (**sagum**), a ritual decreed by the Senate in times of national emergency to signal official recognition of crises: **togas** were only officially resumed by a similar decree signalling their end. The custom

might also be adopted more spontaneously by the citizens of Rome to celebrate Roman victories or lament defeat.

Cicero, *Philippic* 5.12.31, 14.1.2.

sagos, sagma (G) A coarse **chlaina**-type CLOAK, used by Gauls, Spaniards, SOLDIERS (cf. **sagum**); sometimes simply a blanket.

Polybius, 2.28.7, 2.30.1; Appian, *Hispania* 42; *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*, 1051.20.

sagum (L) A rectangular CLOAK of coarse, rough WOOL, worn fastened with a BROOCH or **fibula**, predominantly associated with SOLDIERS, and believed to be of foreign origin (**sagos**) although the **GALLIC STRIPED** version was not adopted in Rome. It was usually mid-length – to the knees: **sagulum** was a shorter version, more suitable for cavalry. It was often worn folded over, and fastened either under the chin or on the right shoulder – leaving the right arm free. Elaborate examples had FRINGES or TASSELS. Most of the soldiers on Trajan's column wear the **sagum**, including generals and the emperor: officers' were PURPLE, those of centurions and lictors attending magistrates on campaign RED, while the **saga** of ordinary soldiers were dark. The **sagum** was so firmly associated with the military that to 'take up the **sagum**' (**saga sumere**) came to mean 'to prepare for war', but **saga** could also be used as blankets or horse-blankets, and worn by COUNTRY labourers, servants, or even city dwellers unable to afford anything more fashionable. The PRICE EDICT OF **DIOCLETIAN** attests to thriving production at various centres, especially in Gaul.

Diodorus, 5.30.1; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.660; Tacitus, *Histories* 2.20; Ammianus Marcellinus, 29.5.48; Silius Italicus, 9.420.

sakkos (G) Generally, a coarse HAIR cloth, especially GOAT'S-hair, or anything made of it – sacks, BAGS, coarse garments. Often now used to refer to the HAIRNETS frequently represented on Greek POTTERY,

in use, or hanging in the background (Figs 46, 50 cf. 40).

Jenkins and Williams (1985: 411–18).

SALE OF CLOTHING Early Greek and Roman clothing was mostly made within the household – comparatively little was produced and sold on a commercial basis, except for **TRADED LUXURY** items – but over time an extensive textile industry and associated retail developed. Artisans who made and sold items of clothing – especially SHOES – often in the same premises, could be found in all urban centres, and merchants and shopkeepers ensured that specialist fabrics and garments – e.g. **GALLIC** cloaks, Egyptian LINEN – were imported and available for purchase – expensive textiles were sold from the **Horrea** of Agrippa near the Forum, more ordinary clothing for slaves and the poor in shops near the Tiber. Pompeii provides good evidence for the trade in clothing: premises where clothing was made and sold have been excavated, and associated inscriptions, paintings and graffiti give a more complete picture. The general term *vestiarii* was used for sellers of ready-made clothes, but shops might also specialize in a particular type or quality of clothing – e.g. the **FELT** shop of Verecundus. **EPIGRAPHIC** evidence from elsewhere in the empire attests to the existence of specialist traders such as the *negotiatores sagarii* who traded military cloaks from Gaul, or the **centonarii** who collected rags and recycled them as patchwork. Marcus Aurelius sold off his expensive imperial clothing to help finance his wars against the Marcomanni (**SHA Marcus Aurelius** 17.4). Supplying the Roman army also required sophisticated and efficient systems – see **CONTRACTS** – although documents from Vindolanda suggest that **MILITARY** clothing might be supplied in quite small quantities.

salii (**SALIAN PRIESTS**) These Roman priests of Mars wore a **tunica picta** (**EMBROIDERED**) with a bronze **kardiophylax**

breastplate, the **trabea**, and the **apex** when performing their rituals, including dances.

Livy, 1.20.4.

sameia, **sēmeia** (G) Literally, marks; found mostly in EPIGRAPHY meaning STRIPES.

IG V(1) 1390.16 (Andania); IG XII(3) 452.

SAMNITE DRESS The best evidence for the dress of various native Italian peoples living in central and southern Italy – including Lucania, Campania and Apulia – comes from fourth-century BC vase- and tomb-paintings. These typically show elite couples, often in ceremonial or ritual activities such as the departure or return of the warrior. Dress is distinctive in several ways. Warriors' full costume consists of a LOINCLOTH or tunic with broad BELT, CUIRASS, HELMET with elaborate embellishment – crest, plume or horns – optional GREAVES, and bare-foot or with some type of shoes. The short tunics could be WHITE, coloured or STRIPED, decorated with BORDERS or an all-over PATTERN of simple abstract designs. The broad belts – hook-fastened, also worn by women – were described in Roman literature as GOLD or silver, but extant remains are gilded rather than gold. The triple-disc BREASTPLATE – with two discs above and one below – was a characteristic form of body-armour cf. **kardiophylax**, but other forms, such as a linen corselet, could be worn instead. Women may have worn Greek-style clothing (e.g. **chiton**) for everyday, but on more ceremonial occasions wore long dresses with a broad belt, separate pieces of drapery round the hips – often held in place by the belt – elbow-length CAPES – or sleeved jackets – and elaborate headdresses of various types, bare feet, or boots, shoes or sandals. Adolescent boys are represented wearing only a loincloth and belt.

Livy, 10.40.3; Schneider-Herrmann (1996).

sandala, **sandalia**, **sandaliskos** (G) SANDALS.

Sappho, 98; Herodotus, 2.91; Cratinus, 131.

SANDALS Essentially soles bound to the feet with a wide strap over the toe, and/or narrower straps (**himas**) laced across the foot and sometimes up the leg; worn by both sexes (Figs 13, 28). A common type had straps attached to a thong passing between the big and second toes. While many sandals were basic and cheap, some could be highly ornate, with raised or embossed designs, occasionally tooled in GOLD. The **krepis** was a cross between a shoe and a sandal, with a thick sole and a complex network of stout straps, generally coming high up the foot and sometimes covering the ankle and/or the toes; it was worn by both men and women. The SOLDIER'S **krepis** had a sole studded with HOBNAILS; horsemen's might have straps extending up the leg, and be of particularly durable leather. Sandals of various designs were also standard footwear for the ETRUSCANS who appear to have exported a particular type of sandal (**tyrrhenica**) to Athens (as worn by Pheidias' statue of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon, they have a very thick sole and golden laces). It is difficult to see what distinguished these from other sandals, but some extant remains of Etruscan sandals – e.g. from a late sixth century BC tomb at Bisenzio – have wooden soles articulated across the instep by a hinge of leather, making them more flexible than one-piece wooden soles. Sandals were worn by Etruscan women and men of all classes in all periods. Roman sandals (**sandalia**, **soleae**, **crepidae**, **gallicae**, **trochadia**, **taurinae**) were of a wide range of designs, worn by poor and rich. Many had toe thongs, others various combinations of straps, lacing and thongs over the foot, round the heel, tied round the ankle. Soles could be layers of leather glued or sewn together, with or without HOBNAILS, or of wood, cork, or other locally available materials – e.g. palm fibre, basketry. Sandals were worn indoors by elite Roman men, who had other forms of footwear for outdoors and formal wear: as leisure wear, they were INAPPROPRIATE for more official duties. Sandals were associated particularly with BATHING.

sandalion, Herodotus, 2.91; **sandalon**, sambalon, Sappho, *Fr.* 110 Campbell; **sandaliskon**; **pedilon**, Pindar, *Olympians* 6.8; Pollux, 7.22.92; Cratinus, *Fr.* 151; Goldman (1994: 101–29); **argentatus**, **autoschedes**, **Babylonica**, **baxea**, **haplai**, **himas**, **hypodēma**, **karkinoi**, **kattuma**, **konipous**, **korē**, **palindoriai**, **pedilon**, **sandala**, **vincula**.

sandarakinos, **sandarachōdēs** (G) The COLOUR of *sandarakē* (sulphide of arsenic), ORANGE. A pigment, not a dye, although the MYTHOLOGICAL topos of murder by poisoned garment – e.g. Medea, Deianeira – in TRAGEDY is perhaps related.

Herodotus, 1.98; Galen, 17(1).834.

sarabara (G) Loose TROUSERS worn by Scythians.

Antiphanes, 201.

sarapis (G) A WHITE robe with PURPLE STRIPES, worn by PERSIANS.

Democritus Ephesius, 1; Ctesias, *Fr.* 43.

SASHES Tied fabric belts, cf. GIRDLE – practical accessories which pulled the voluminous female **peplos**, **chitōn** or **tunica** into the waist or beneath the bust, but also had a SYMBOLIC value. The loosening of a girl's sash, especially during the WEDDING, was analogous to the removal of the BRIDAL VEIL, signifying the transition from virgin to woman. Consequently women frequently DEDICATED their sashes to goddesses at marriage (see ARTEMIS). APHRODITE's **zōnē**, decorated with multiple TASSELS which the goddess wore beneath her breasts, and occasionally lent out to other goddesses, as a sexual talisman, shows their sexual symbolism.

Iliad 14.181; Blundell (2002: 156–8); Llewellyn-Jones (2006: 94); **amitrochitōnes**, **amitros**, **chitōn**, **diazōma**, **hamma parthenias**, **himas**, **kallizōnos**.

saturnalia During this Roman festival the usual elite dress codes were relaxed, or inverted, even by SENATORS in public. The

toga was set aside and informal DINING CLOTHES (**synthesis**) were worn instead, along with the **pilleus** normally associated with freedmen.

Martial, 14.1.1–2.

SCARF Regularly worn around the necks of Roman SOLDIERS (**focale**, **sudarium**) presumably to prevent ARMOUR rubbing, or with the **paenula**. Representations show the scarf tucked in, so its shape – square, triangular or rectangular – is uncertain. Also a standard item of male – and sometimes female – GALLIC DRESS, usually tucked into the neck of the Gallic coat (Fig. 19) but sometimes knotted round the neck on the outside.

SCARLET A rich RED colour from kermes insect dye (*coccum* – see *coccinus*), although Pliny mistakenly describes a PLANT source (NH 16.12.32, 22.3.3). Among the Romans *coccinus* was a desirable and expensive colour – second only to PURPLE – reserved for the **paludamenta** of Roman generals.

SHA *Clodius Albinus* 2.5; Martial, 4.28.2, 5.23.5.

schēma (G) Generally, a shape, or figure, for garments, a FASHION or manner of dress or equipment.

Aristophanes, *Knights* 1331, *Acharnians* 64 cf. Xenophon, *Household Management* 2.1.

sculponeae (L) A cheap wooden SHOE, like CLOGS: a shaped wooden sole held by a wide strap of leather over the broadest part. Remains have been found at various sites along the northern frontier of the Roman empire.

Plautus, *Casina* 2.8.495.

SEAMS Essential to modern western dress – and often emphasized – seams were not similarly important in Greek and Roman dress, although many garments were SEWN in some way. The use of the seam to tailor a garment to the body, and create its shape independently of the wearer, was not

normal: seams were usually very simple. Some commentators have suggested that APPLIQUÉD BANDS were used in MINOAN DRESS, either to hide true seams, or to fulfil the same structuring function, but this contention has not been established, see RECONSTRUCTION.

SECOND-HAND CLOTHES Clothing THEFT, and patchworking (*cento*, *himatiopolēs*) strongly suggest that there was a market for second-hand clothing or other textiles in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. Garments and textiles were expected to have a much longer life than nowadays: the effort put into their MANUFACTURE meant that they had value even once past their best, see MAINTENANCE. As with all aspects of trade, we have more evidence from the Roman world, where *centonarii* were sufficiently numerous and important to have their own trade associations or *collegia*.

SELVAGE The side edge of a WOVEN textile, where the WEFT is either looped and returned, or tied off as a FRINGE (*ōa*). Sometimes the weft is looped around several WARP threads to reinforce the edge, which takes heavy wear. The selvages are distinct from the heading band or cord at the start of the weaving, and from the warp end, where the warp ends can be tied off into a fringe, or the textile hemmed with stitching. It is likely that many ancient textiles, especially those woven on the WARP-WEIGHTED LOOM, would have had a separately woven HEADING-BAND whose selvage formed the top edge of the textile.

Barber (1991: 1267-9); *exastis*, *legnon*, *limbus*, *paryphainō*.

SENATORIAL DRESS A tunic with two broad PURPLE stripes (*clavi*), worn under the *toga* without a belt, was the preserve of this class: Augustus allowed it to the sons of senators from the time they officially reached manhood. A particular SHOE (*calceus*) was

also worn by senators. In the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN separate prices are listed for patrician, senatorial and equestrian shoes, but the distinctions are unclear: probably those of senators were BLACK – as opposed to the RED of the patricians – and embellished with a crescent-shaped toggle attached to the laces. Senators who held the higher (*curule*) magistracies wore the *toga praetexta* instead of the plain *toga virilis*.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 38.2; Horace, *Satires* 1.6.27–8; Juvenal, 7.191–2.

seni crines (L) A RITUAL hairstyle worn by BRIDES and VESTAL VIRGINS: associated with chastity. The most likely reconstruction is that the hair was parted in the centre by a spear (see *caelibaris*) and divided into six tresses or braids, three a side, then twisted and wound around the head and bound with white woollen FILLETS (*vittae*): perhaps similar to the *tutulus* (Fig. 48).

Festus, 339; La Follette (1994: 56–7).

sērikos, seric (G/L) SILKEN (from *Ser*, Chinese).

vestis, Tacitus, *Annals* 2.33; *toga*, Quintilian, 12.10.47; *pallium*, Vulgate, Esther 8.15.

SEWING Greek and Roman garments were typically DRAPED and, while sewing was not unknown (*acia*, *acus*, *akē*, *syrraptō*), it was only one option for joining fabric, cf. PINNING, BUTTONING. The open side of Greek folded inner garments often seems to have been sewn, forming a loose tube to be draped. Other garments (*kandys*, *chitōn cheiridōtos*) were completely sewn, including the SLEEVES, but this manner of CONSTRUCTION never became characteristic. Some ETRUSCAN and SAMNITE clothing appears more fitted than Greek, requiring more sewing, but no remains of garments survive to show how they were constructed. Roman inner garments, like the *tunica*, were more commonly sewn, as is implied by the special term, *aclassis*, for an unsewn tunic. The paradigmatic female garment, the *stola*,

was held up by sewn straps, *institae*. Sewing was also used to alter and mend garments: surviving Roman tunics from Egypt suggest that the preferred method of shortening them – for ‘growing into’ – was to take a tuck at the waist rather than create a hem. Preserved sewing needles, made of bone or bronze, are not as fine as modern ones – where sewn seams are preserved on surviving garments, the thread and stitching appear coarse and clumsy. Where *SELVAGES* were sewn, overcasting may have been used in preference to a flat *SEAM*. However, sewing was important in *DECORATION*; not only *EMBROIDERY*, but also attaching both *TABLET-WOVEN BANDS* and *DECORATIONS (pasmata)*. Such bands were simpler to make separately than create during *WEAVING*, but would perhaps have adversely affected the garment’s arrangements of *FOLDS*. Sewing was also a common means of shaping *LEATHER*, and most Greek literary references seem to be to this, rather than fabric.

Herodotus, 3.9, 6.1; Euripides, *Bacchae* 286.

SHEEP By this period, domesticated for at least several millennia, but nevertheless lacking the relatively uniform characteristics familiar from modern breeds: throughout Greek and earlier Roman periods, breeds of sheep varied widely between and within regions and localities (Pliny, *NH* 8.73.190); Roman sheep-farmers sometimes ‘jacketed’ their animals with cloth to protect their fleeces from snags, dirt and other impurities, (8.72.189). Only in later Roman times did the combination of increasingly industrialized *DYEING*, and intra-empire *TRADE*, combine with large-scale farming and breeding techniques to produce more standardized *WHITE*, woolly-fleeced animals (Sebesta 1994: 67, 70, 72). Indeed, the British wool trade was vibrant and renowned throughout the Middle Ages for breeding ‘long-staple’ wool-bearing sheep. Wool *COLOUR* is probably emphasized as

the varying characteristic most easily recognized by non-specialist authors with little experience of sheep ‘in the field’. The eventual primacy of sheep as *WOOL-BEARING ANIMALS* – *CF. GOATS*, whose wild varieties show similar yields of woolly fibres to wild sheep – may be a result of the species’ good response to breeding for uniformity (Barber 1991: 20–30).

Nevertheless, sheep’s wool – one type of fibre borne by wild sheep, along with thicker, shorter ‘hair’, and shorter, wide, brittle ‘kemp’ – has a number of distinctive characteristics compared to *PLANT FIBRES*: its natural kink increases air-trapping, insulating properties; it is very elastic, and thus stands up well to *SPINNING* and other manipulations; and it is easy to dye. In addition to their wool, sheep also provide meat and milk – although the ideal herd compositions for the latter are different to those for wool, wool flocks do provide them – as well as useful wool-bearing *SHEEPSKINS*. Therefore, sheep and their wool were of primary importance to ancient *TEXTILE MANUFACTURE*. The variant qualities of local breeds made wool an important *TRADE* item: areas that produced particularly prized qualities developed specialized production, and the origin of *FIBRES* was important in recognition and assertion of *VALUE* for finished textiles or garments: e.g. wool from Miletus was prized in Classical Athens. Naturally-hued wool had the advantage of being completely colour-fast, see *MORDANTS*. However, different areas – differing climates and feeds, as well as breeds – also produced sheep with differing yields of wool per animal, and different widths and lengths of fibre: trade-offs were accepted between grades of wool and yields per animal.

SHEEPSKIN All *FUR*- or hair-bearing *SKINS* have better insulative properties than *LEATHER*, but sheepskin was perhaps the most common, and certainly the warmest, due to the special properties of *SHEEP’S WOOL*. Therefore, although used for leather, *DERMA*, these were

also often TANNED with the wool attached. Notable Greek garments were the *chitōn chortaios* and *katōnakē*, although we do not find a specific term in Greek comparable to *velumen*. These garments reinforce the impression that sheepskin was the 'poor man's fur', generally associated with rusticity and hard wear.

Van Wees (2005: 44–54).

SHOES A sole with an upper, covering a substantial portion of the foot, less commonly worn than SANDALS or BOOTS. Soles were usually made of several layers of LEATHER, although one layer may sometimes have been cork. The upper was SEWN to the sole and was sometimes made of several segments held together by straps or thongs. Art records various types and, for the Roman period at least, relatively numerous remains are extant from wet conditions at northern sites (e.g. Vindolanda, Saalburg, Mainz) and dry conditions in some of the eastern provinces (e.g. Dura Europos, Masada) and Egypt. It is not always easy to correlate these sources with the names and descriptions of various types in literature. For example, the modern use of the term *calcei repandi* for the type of ETRUSCAN shoe with an upturned pointed toe, rests on one reference in Cicero (*Nature of the Gods* 1.29.82). Other literary references appear more precise: *persikai* for instance, were soft shoes – or possibly ankle-boots – usually WHITE, worn indoors by women (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 229–30, cf. *peribarides*), or small CHILDREN (Stone 1980: 238). *Baukides* were luxurious SAFFRON-coloured Ionian shoes, especially popular with PROSTITUTES; sometimes cork insoles made the wearer look taller (Athenaeus, 13.23.568B). A *blautē* was a man's slipper or sandal, sometimes with a turned-up toe, decorated with GOLDEN brooches, worn at banquets (Plato, *Symposium* 174A).

A wide range of footwear was available in the Roman world (Price Edict of

Diocletian 9.5–25) but different types were APPROPRIATE for different people on different occasions. Some types were worn by SOLDIERS (*caligae*, Fig. 5 *campagi*); there were specific types for SENATORS, EQUITES (*calcei*, Fig. 4) and patricians (*mullei calcei*); there were shoes for indoor use (*soleae*, *socci*, *gallicae*, *crepidae*: Aulus Gellius, 13.22.2–8), for labourers and BATHING. Although leather was the most important material, a wide variety of others were also used, sometimes with HOBNAILED. Leather was often left its natural colour, but could be coloured: white was popular, especially for women's shoes (Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.271; Petronius, 67.4). Shoes could also be decorated, with openwork shapes, PEARLS or gemstones. Shoes were generally fastened by laces and thongs round the ankle, not BUCKLES. According to tradition, shoemakers formed a guild (*collegium*) as early as the time of the king Numa Pompilius. Later inscriptions suggest considerable specialization, and shoemaking could be a lucrative trade. Some at least were proud enough of their calling to represent themselves on their funerary monuments with the tools of their trade – such as lasts (*formae*).

altiusculus, *anupodēteō*, *Babylonica*, *bardaicus*, *baxea*, *bisolis*, *blaution*, *calceamentum*, *calceus*, *campagus*, *caliga*, *diabathron*, *empilia*, *eumaris*, **FOOTWEAR**, *hypodēma*, *impilia*, *kannabiska*, *lakonikai*, *loramentum*, *pedilon*, *pero*, *pilos*, *sculponeae*, *sikyōnia*, *soccus*, *trochades*, *vincula*.

shuttle Used to pass the threads of the WEFT through the shed of the WARP, therefore generally smooth, flat, tapered at the ends, with a hipped middle on which the weft thread is wound. However, ancient weaving probably did not always require a special shuttle: weft was introduced on a simple bobbin, or wound around the shaft of the SPINDLE.

acus, *acu pingere*, *kerkis*, *kerkizō*.

sikyōnia (G) A kind of women's SHOES.

Herodotus, 7.57; Pollux, 7.93.

SILK Its introduction to the Mediterranean world has long been debated: probably first known as a rarity in the early first millennium BC, it had become a well-recognized **LUXURY** item by the early imperial era at Rome, prized for its fineness and near-**TRANSPARENCY**. Although wild silk was found (**COAN SILK**), such fibres are more prone to breaking and tangling, and are too short to be woven alone. True silk, from the *Bombyx mori*, was a jealously guarded secret of Chinese culture, probably from the third millennium BC onward (Barber 1991: 30) and is unique in the strength and circular structure of its fibres. Their great length means that they can be used unspun to **WEAVE**

exceptionally fine fabrics, and even when spun, have remarkable properties of shine and softness. The linguistic evidence in Greek (**amorginion**, **byssos**, **metaxa**, **sērikos**) is confusing, but **ARCHAEOLOGICAL** finds of silk (Barber 1991: 32) attest to its presence, probably mediated by Central Asian nomadic peoples. Always a rarity, it was nevertheless culturally prominent and **VALUED** in imperial Rome (**bombycina bombyx**), and therefore included in accounts of the expensive and luxurious clothing owned and made by emperors. Elagabalus was said to have been the first emperor to wear a garment made entirely of silk (**holosericus**): usually silk was mixed with other fibres such as linen (**subsericus**). In



Figure 36 Sasanian king, queen and young prince in court dress. Males: long-sleeved tunics, wide **TROUSERS** with long sashes **SHOES** decorated with elaborate streamers. Bearded, king's cloak fastened with **BROOCH**. Queen: long robe – sleeves falling over hands – waist sash and cloak. Distinctive **CROWNS** with streamers, elaborate hairstyles, much **JEWELLERY**. The artist shows lightness of **SILK** garments by having the cloth float in the breeze.

the third century AD, pure silk was literally worth its weight in gold and, as a result, was the subject of well-organized long-distance TRADE, highly regulated at the Chinese end. Inscriptions also attest to specialist silk merchants operating in Italy.

Propertius, 1.2.2; Ovid, *Art of Love* 2.298; SHA *Elagabalus* 26.1, *Aurelian* 45.5.

sindōn (G) Fine cloth, usually defined as LINEN. However, given the similarity of the Babylonian term *sindhu*, it is possible that this term referred specifically to COTTON (Marshall 1973: 33): it generally occurs in EPIGRAPHIC contexts for garments – often more specific or technical than literature. Also *sindonitas*, *sindōnitēs*, garments of fine linen, or cotton.

Herodotus, 1.200, 2.95; *IG* V(1) 1390.17 (ANDANIA); *IG* II² 1525.6; Menander, *Samians* 163.

sinus (L) One of the elegant patterns of folds created in DRAPING the **toga**: a loop of deep U-shaped folds hanging in front from under the right arm to the level of the right knee and back up to the **balteus**, that passed diagonally across the torso (Fig. 42). According to Quintilian – late first century AD – the most becoming length was just a little above the lower edge of the tunic, but artistic representations suggest that fashionable lengths varied, gradually dropping lower as the imperial period progressed. When it hung to the ankle, the lower portion was usually carried over the left arm.

11. 3.137–40; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 5.3; Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.320.

sisyra (G) A GOAT-hair CLOAK, garment by day, blanket at night.

Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1459, *Assemblywomen* 347; Plato, *Eryxias* 400e.

sisyrna (G) A SKIN garment possibly GOAT, see **sisyra**.

Herodotus, 4.109; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 109.

SKAIN Any wound thread, whether still on the SPINDLE (**klōstēr**), or on a special bobbin – preventing tangling and rendering the long sections used in WEAVING easily manipulated.

skeleai (G) Breeches or TROUSERS.

Critias, 38D; Antiphanes, 36.

skeuarion (G) A poor garment.

Plato, *Alcibiades* 1.113e.

skeyē (G) Equipment or attire, especially ACTORS' COSTUMES, or manner of dress.

Herodotus, 1.24 cf. 7.62; Thucydides, 1.6. cf. **schēma**, **synthesis**.

skiadeion (G) A PARASOL used by women or EFFEMINATE men. Also, a wide-brimmed sun-HAT.

Aristophanes, *Knights* 1348; Eupolis, 445.

SKINS Skins of a wide range of animals were used in a variety of states for various purposes in Greek and Roman clothing and culture (*Price Edict of Diocletian* 8.1–41). The primary modern distinction between LEATHER and FUR did exist: soft furs were luxury items, leather a common material for FOOTWEAR, HATS, and GLOVES. However, leather products were not, as they are now, divorced from their animal origins: an intermediate category of animal skins – categorized by animal – existed, retaining some or all of their original shape. Animal skins with their heads and hair intact were used in Roman MILITARY dress, and are found in Greek mythology as DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. In Greek culture, animal skins used for clothing often retain their association with the animal, even when cut and shaped: e.g. SOLDIERS' dog-skin cap (**kyneē**), AEGIS and GOAT-skins, or the fawn-skins worn by MAENADS. SHEEPSKIN (**katōnakē**, **velumen**) was common in everyday life, but not to the exclusion of others. Prohibitions of footwear in cults perhaps relate to this more explicit

understanding of the origins of leather – its essential nature as the skin of an animal. Although animal skins were very useful, being tough, WATERPROOF and, with the hair retained, warm, they seem, even more so than fully TANNED leather – which shared similar associations – to have been somewhat problematized as clothing, perhaps because of the same totemic ideas that made them APPROPRIATE for gods and as military standards.

chitōn chortaios, derma, dermatochitōn, dermatophoreō, endyton, galerus, HEAD-DRESSES, RAWHIDE.

SLAVES In Greek art, we usually take those figures holding domestic instruments, wearing fewer garments, to be slaves: distinguished not by the type of garments they wore, but by the age and/or poor quality of their clothing, see SECOND-HAND CLOTHING, CLOTHES SHOPS. Some garments (**chitōn heteromaschalos**, **katōnakē**) were particularly associated with slaves, and aspects of slave status might be expressed by headgear (**corona**, **pilleus**) but in general, the dress of slaves was probably simply defined negatively – by not possessing characteristics associated with STATUS assertion. The free poor at least had time to DECORATE or alter their garments to express individuality: slaves could neither choose nor embellish what they wore. In the Roman world, too, the dress of slaves was not obviously distinguished from that of ordinary free-born Romans. The suggestion that slaves should be distinctively dressed was rejected on the grounds that it would become all too obvious how many slaves there were in Rome, encouraging revolt. Certain clothes might always have been considered inappropriate for slaves, but only in the late imperial period are there hints of specific garments forbidden to slaves: the Theodosian code specifically permits slaves to wear the **birrus** (14.1.3), implying that some other forms of cloak were not allowed – or that this one was previously forbidden.

However, slaves employed as estate bailiffs or high-ranking domestic servants would be much better dressed than those used for heavy manual work. Some slaves accumulated enough money to add to the wardrobe provided by their master, but most were dependent on what was issued to them. Generally speaking slaves were expected to wear poorer quality clothing: the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN consistently lists the cheapest types of clothing as worn by the common people and slaves. Cato (*On Agriculture* 59) suggests that a suitable clothing allowance for a male agricultural slave was one TUNIC, one **sagum** and a pair of SHOES issued every other year: when the new clothes were issued the old ones should be taken back for recycling as patchwork.

SLEEVES The basic garment types of antiquity were sleeveless, although folds from rectangular-shaped tunics often fell over the arms to create pseudo-sleeves (Figs 7, 37), and shaped sleeves are found, (Figs 1, 2, 39) especially in the dress of LATE ANTIQUITY (Figs 8, 24, 47). Despite conspicuous absence from art (Fig. 13), both long and short shaped sleeves were frequently utilized in EGYPTIAN dress, regularly attached to TUNICS for warmth or to express rank. ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds show that such early sleeves were formed out of tubes of cloth with a single SEAM running from wrist to armpit, in the manner of modern inset sleeves. Sleeves cut in one with the garment are also found in the archaeological material, being easier to produce in antiquity – set-in sleeves required a higher standard of tailoring to be stylish and comfortable. Short sleeves WOVEN into tunics were worn in Babylonia and Assyria, but the dress of the Medes within the PERSIAN empire utilized set-in sleeves. The Medes wore a sleeved tunic under a sleeved coat (Fig. 14). Interestingly, this coat is usually shown draped over the wearer's shoulders, the sleeves hanging loosely at the

sides; they may be false. Greeks of both sexes and various walks of life sometimes wore sleeves inspired by eastern fashions, as did Greek ACTORS. In fact, these are the most interesting aspect of tragic STAGE COSTUMES, varying considerably in pattern they are always wrist-length, either attached to the tunic just off the shoulder, or perhaps part of some kind of undergarment (Figs 1, 39). In republican and early imperial Rome short sleeves were a normal part of the *tunica*, but to wear a long tunic with long sleeves was considered EFFEMINATE: despite this stigma, Julius Caesar was infamous for wearing them. Long sleeves became common in the later empire.

Suetonius, *Caesar* 45.3; Miller (1997); Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993); *cheiridōtos*, *cheiris*, *chitōniskos*, *exōmis*, *chitōn heteromaschalos*, FEMININITY, *kandys*, *karpōtos*, *korē*, *korai*, *tunica*, *tunica recta*.

SNOOD A modern term for a hairnet or a large loose net 'bag' covering most of the HAIR. Greek POTTERY sometimes depicts women with small handheld frames for making SPRANG, suitable for creating snoods. Snoods came back into fashion for empresses – and other fashionable women – in the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

kekryphalos, *sakkos*.

soccus, socci (L) Soft shoes for indoor wear, possibly more like SOCKS, of cloth rather than leather, associated with ACTORS in comedies (cf. *cothurnus*): they thus came to refer metaphorically to comedy. Otherwise they were worn primarily by women and considered EFFEMINATE, perhaps per se, or just certain 'feminine' styles! Caligula in particular is said to have worn 'womanish' *socci*. Flame-coloured *socci* were worn by Roman BRIDES and the PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN lists various COLOURS: PURPLE, WHITE, and GOLDEN (9.17–23).

Martial, 8.3.13; Plautus, *Epidicus* 5.2.725; Suetonius, *Caligula* 52; Catullus, 61.8–10.

SOCKS Most Greeks and Romans are represented barefoot or wearing sandals or SHOES without socks, but there are a number of indications that socks were worn in the Roman world, especially by soldiers or civilians in the provinces, occasionally in Rome. The Cancelleria relief A – showing Domitian setting out for war – unusually shows soldiers wearing toeless and heel-less socks inside their *caligae* (*udones*). Vindolanda has also yielded the well-preserved remains of a woven CHILD'S sock (Goldman 1994: fig. 6.31) cut and sewn to shape: similarly constructed knee-length stockings with a back seam and separately made feet were found in a second-century AD woman's grave at Clermont Ferrand (Croom 2000: fig. 45). KNITTED and SPRANG socks have also been found in Egypt (Croom 2000: fig. 20): some have separate sections for the toes so they can be worn with flip-flop type sandals. A woman apparently wearing such red socks with black sandals appears on a third-century AD painted shroud (Croom 2000: pl. 15). However it is not always easy to distinguish between true socks and soft shoes (*socci*), shoe linings (*impilia*) and leg wrappings (*fasciae*) without attached feet.

SOLDIERS Roman soldiers wore a similar TUNIC to civilians, pulled up shorter – above the knees – with a MILITARY-style BELT (*balteus*). Underneath they might wear a LOINCLOTH (*subligaculum*) or close-fitting knee-breeches (*feminalia*, *bracae*), and on top a cloak (*sagum*, *paenula*, *paludamentum*) with sturdy HOBNAILED footwear (*caligae* or *campagi*). On active duty they wore various items of ARMOUR (*cuirass*, *lorica*, *helmets*), often with a scarf (*focale*).

solea (L) A SANDAL, fastened to the sole (*solum*) by LEATHER straps: outdoor wear in Greek culture, INAPPROPRIATE DRESS for Romans outdoors and in public. Often worn for more informal events, e.g. DINING, and removed before reclining, *soleae* could

appropriately be worn indoors at home and at the BATHS.

Aulus Gellius, 13.22.1; Plautus, *Truculentus* 2.4.363, 367; Ovid, *Art of Love* 2.212.

sordes (L) Conspicuously DIRTIED clothing, worn to SYMBOLIZE sorrow, for example by defendants, their family and friends in the law courts, or in MOURNING – perhaps distinct from the **toga pulla** worn at the funeral, being rather a deliberately soiled ordinary white toga.

vestem mutare; Quintilian, 6.1.33; Cicero, *For Sestius* 69.144–5; *Letters to Friends* 14.2.2; *For Murena* 86. Livy, 6.16.4; 6.20.2. Heskel (1994: 141–2).

sordidus (L) DIRTY or unclean, so also, in MOURNING dress (**sordes**).

amictus, Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.301.

SOURCES Evidence for ancient clothing is LITERARY, ARTISTIC, EPIGRAPHIC or ARCHAEOLOGICAL. Clothing appears in a wide range of written sources – from epic and erotic poetry, tragedy and comedy to laundry lists written on Egyptian papyri and mundane letters – which only rarely provide clear, full, descriptions: details of garments must often be deduced from clues given by context. Literary evidence is particularly valuable for providing the names of garments and their constituent parts – including COLOURS – but these can be frustratingly difficult to match with surviving garments or representations in art: literature also gives particularly valuable insights into attitudes to clothing and their significance. Art provides evidence for the appearance of clothing, but cannot be treated as a simple record of what was worn: archaeology provides remains of real clothing, but these are unfortunately rather meager and concentrated in particular parts of the ancient world. The study of ancient dress involves balancing all of these sources – which may not always agree with one another.

ARCHAEOLOGY; ART AS EVIDENCE; LITERATURE, CLOTHING IN ROMAN; LITERARY SOURCES FOR CLOTHING; POTTERY, PATTERNS; POTTERY, REPRESENTATIONS OF DRESS; Wild (1985: 362–422); Sebesta and Bonfante (1994); Jenkins (2003); Losfeld (1994); Hall (1986); Vickers (1999).

SPARTAN DRESS The dress of ancient Spartans is poorly understood, since they left little to no evidence about their clothing. We are dependent, therefore, on – primarily Athenian – anti-Spartan propaganda to reconstruct Spartan dress. One of the more reliable sources for Spartan society is Xenophon's *Constitution of the Spartans* which notes several aspects of austerity: Spartan men would not soften or effeminize their feet by wearing FOOTWEAR and were content to wear only a cloak throughout the year, preparing them to withstand variations of heat and cold: MILITARY dress reflected their emphasis on community conformity, as all warriors wore their HAIR long and dressed in RED cloaks, allegedly to soak up blood spilled in battle. Soldiers' appearance also indicated their special STATUS within Spartan society: war was one of the few times when they were allowed to beautify their hair and ornament their bodies (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 22.1), so emphasizing to Spartan men that battle was a glorious event, to be celebrated. In the latter half of the fourth century BC the Spartan 'look' became popular among young Athenian men who wore RED cloaks in jealous imitation of their Spartan rivals. Athenian texts routinely accuse Spartan women of being 'thigh-flashers' – a less than complimentary nickname expressing their Athenian contemporaries' view of their wanton, MASCULINIZED nature: Euripides' Peleus, the caricature of a vapid Athenian patriot, accuses Spartan women of dressing immodestly, and Spartan men of allowing their wives and daughters too much licence (*Andromache* 592–604). The nickname probably refers to the **chitōn heteromaschalos** or **chitōniskos** which young Spartan women wore at RITUAL

ATHLETIC contests, not on a daily basis. In epic poetry of the Homeric age Spartan women like HELEN are represented very differently: Homer refers to them as ‘beautifully veiled’ suggesting their dress conformed to the modest standards of other Greek women (*Odyssey* 4.623). Rare iconographic representations of women from Spartan society show them wearing outfits similar in all details to those of other Greek women – including VEILS. Moreover, Spartan women made textile DEDICATIONS to ARTEMIS Orthia just as the women of Attica did at Brauron: SPINNING and WEAVING were equally highly valued skills. Nonetheless, Spartan society does appear to have had its idiosyncratic attitudes to dress and public ritual: at the Spartan WEDDING, the BRIDE’s head was shaved and the groom required to ‘capture’ her, as if on a hunt.

Cartledge (2002); Pomeroy (2002); Hodkinson (2000); Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

spathaō (G) To beat the WEFT home with the **spathē** so to WEAVE.

Pollux, 7.36; Barber (1991: 274).

spathē, spathion (G) A broad blade of wood or metal, and in particular the flat wooden blade used to compress the WEFT, sword-beater, cf. **kerkis**, see WEAVING TOOLS, Latin **spatha**.

Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers* 232; Plato, *Lysis* 208d; *Greek Anthology* 6.283.

spathētos (G) Struck with the **spathē**, therefore, close-WOVEN.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 365; Democritus Ephesius, 1.

spathis (G) A garment of closely WOVEN cloth.

IG II² 1469.131; Pollux, 7.36.

speirion (G) A light summer garment, cf. **lēdion**.

Xenophon, *Historia Graeca* 4.5.4.

sphondylos (G) Vertebra, and so the circular whorl which twirls a SPINDLE.

Plato, *Republic* 616c; Theophrastus, *History of Plants* 3.16.4; Plutarch, 2.754; Pollux, 7.31.

SPINDLE A very simple tool, revealed by ARCHAEOLOGY to have many variations of form and details of use (Figs 23, 37). The essential principle of SPINNING is the twisting of loose FIBRES into a long continuous thread: success depends on the continuity of the twisting process; the evenness of the quantity of loose fibres twisted; and a mechanism to prevent the thread un-twisting from its completed end. The spindle, at its simplest a straight unworked stick, makes a big difference: once attached to the spindle, the thread is held ever more securely by each new length that is wound over it, and the twisting action draws the fibres through the fingers at a relatively uniform rate. The spindle is also, being rigid, more easily twirled than the fibres themselves. Adding a whorl provides momentum, so that the spindle does not have to be continuously rotated by hand, but can be twirled by the toes, rolled on the thigh, or flicked regularly with the fingers to maintain its spin. With either of the latter methods, the weighted spindle can be dropped, so that the action of gravity increases the spin, maintaining the tension of the thread, by simultaneous winding on the spindle (*atraktos*, *elakatē*, *fusus*, *klōstēr*, *onos*, *turbo*). The spindle whorl can be made of wood, metal, clay or stone, and placed at the top or bottom of the shaft, depending on the mechanism used to impart twist. Spindles seem to have been used from the earliest prehistoric beginnings of textile manufacture until the invention of spinning wheels. Many hand spinners continue to prefer the drop spindle to the spinning wheel, because it allows spinning to be accomplished while walking or riding.

Barber (1991: 42–66).

SPINNING This essential process (*neō*, *pendo*, *traho*) was the ‘donkey work’ (*onos*)

of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE (Figs 23, 37). A skilled yet repetitive task, it could be accomplished while carrying out many other household tasks, essential simply because it is so time consuming (Van Wees 2005: 44–54). In the ancient world, the quantity of fibres necessary for a given textile project seems to have been weighed out before spinning (*lanipendens*, *pensum*, *talasia*, *talasourgia*, *talasourgos*), so that while spinning was not truly the first step of the textile manufacture process (*agrēnon*, *lanificium*, *lana*, *katagma*, *tolupē*) it was the first step in making a particular textile. Making such a determination at this early stage reveals the skill of ancient spinners, who would then turn the raw wool into thread of both sufficient length, and the right weights and widths, for the finished piece. This skill is exemplified by *Klothō*, the first of the Fates, who determined the

nature – although not the length or end – of each life by spinning. The SOURCES suggest that spinning was the aspect of textile manufacture most commonly farmed out (*pendo*) to SLAVES or dependants, in the household or workshops. However, despite its repetitive nature, the spinning process has as fundamental an impact on the end-product textile as the quality of the raw materials themselves, or the weaving process: it set many of the fabric's characteristics, for thread may be spun fine or thick, tight or fluffy, with an S- or Z-twist. Much of the artistic evidence for textile manufacture comes from *epinetra*, the pottery thigh-guards placed over the clothed knees of spinners, used both to roll the unspun fibres into rollocks, and SPIN.

Barber (1991: 39–78).



Figure 37 Young woman (*kore*) SPINS wool from DISTAFF. IONIC *chiton* FASTENED to create rudimentary SLEEVES; mantle with patterned BORDER and weighted hem; low chignon hairstyle, TASSELLED FILLETS; BAREFOOT.

SPINNING BOWL A misnomer: these stone or pottery bowls, distinguished by one or more loops inside the base, show from their wear marks that they held thread. Their main purpose appears to have been wetting fibres passed through the loops – a little water was placed in the base, the ball of thread rested on the loop, its end passed through it – dampening it – this renders FLAX more flexible and pliable – and maintaining tension. These bowls are known from ARCHAEOLOGICAL finds in Egypt, the near east and Crete: their use relates to the Egyptian practice of splicing flax fibres end to end, rather than SPINNING several fibres together; the bowls helped ply (twist) several such exceedingly fine threads together for strength – probably also true elsewhere, whether the source thread had been spliced or fine spun. We do not know terms for them in Greek or Latin, and the practice of splicing rather than spinning seems to have continued in this period only in EGYPT, see LINEN.

Barber (1991: 70–6).

spissa (L) Closely WOVEN fabric, cf. *ralla*, *spathētos*.

spolas (G) A LEATHER garment, jerkin.

Aristophanes, *Birds* 933; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.3.20; 4.1.18.

SPORTSWEAR Some Roman **ATHLETES** competed **NUDE**, others wore a **LOINCLOTH**. Some wore specialist clothing (**CHARIOTEERS**, **BOXING**, **GLADIATORS**), but Augustus took exercise – running and jumping – just wrapped in a cloak or blanket. Women may have worn **BRIEFS** – and possibly also a **BREASTBAND** – when exercising in the baths. The highly decorated **ARMOUR** worn by auxiliary cavalry – including face-mask **HELMETS** – is sometimes described as ‘sports armour’ as it is thought to have been used when teams of cavalry competed against one another in mock fights.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 83; Martial, 7.67

SPRANG This form of plaiting with stretched threads was the prehistoric

equivalent of **KNITTING**: many of the so-called ‘**TAPESTRY**’ or ‘**EMBROIDERY**’ frames seen in Classical Greek art were actually sprang frames. Sprang is made on a small portable frame: fabric is worked from both ends of the frame towards the middle, using a technique that involves fixing **WARP** threads at both ends, then twisting them together like a ‘cat’s cradle’. The textile is finished by fixing the middle, and when complete is essentially an elastic net, suitable for **HAIRNETS**, stockings or **SLEEVES** – anything which must fit over, yet cling to, a bump: chignon **HAIRSTYLE**, knee or elbow. Sprang was probably used primarily for hairnets in Greek and Roman dress but also for some socks found in Roman Egypt.

Barber (1991: 123, etc.); **kekryphalos**, **sakkos**, **SNOODS**.

STAFF Used as a practical aid to mobility, but also to emphasize the **STATUS** of its



Figure 38 Departure of warrior ‘family scene’. From left: (1) Elderly bearded man: very full himation, **STAFF**. (2) Young woman: woollen **DORIC peplos**, deep kolpos raised as a **VEIL**, hair-band or **sakkos** with flowers, or decoration. (3) Young man: **MILITARY DRESS** – linen **chitoniskos**, ‘kilt’, crested helmet. (4) Woman: **peplos** with **SELVAGE** stripe, **HAIR COVERING** with **FILLET** and/or **WREATH**. All **BAREFOOT**.

male user (Figs 3, 38). In ARCHAIC Greece, the staff gradually replaced the spear as a SYMBOL of the elite: some gods were represented staff in hand. As well as serving as a simple weapon, in Greek vase-paintings it is a symbol of conspicuous leisure – often tucked under the user's armpit. The Achaemenid PERSIAN kings carried a staff as part of their royal paraphernalia, a tradition which can be traced back to Egypt and Assyria and was inherited by HELLENISTIC monarchs. Roman emperors carried a staff when depicted in the guise of a deity. Augustus, for example, holds a long staff on the *Gemma Augustea* where he sits enthroned in the guise of Jupiter.

Van Wees (1998: 333–78); Cool Root (1979); Zanker (1990: 231); Stein (1973); *bacillum*, *baculum*.

STAGE COSTUME Comedy used the basic dress of daily life, but exaggerated the body image with grotesque padding; tragedy employed a distinct type of costume removed from daily dress (Figs 1, 39). It is possible that a tragic actor wore just one, often elaborate, costume throughout a play, but by changing masks and accessories – CROWNS, HATS, and VEILS – was able to play multiple characters in one drama. Both male and female characters wore floor-length TUNICS with long fitted SLEEVES, a



Figure 39 ACTORS. (1) Herakles: richly patterned knee-length *chitōn cheiridōtos* – fitted long sleeves with distinctive *parakymatios* wave pattern – under muscle CUIRASS – a baldric holds HERAKLES' lion-skin – knee-high patterned *kothornoi* with flat soles, middle-aged, BEARDED. (2) Mythological heroine – elaborate costume, based on PERSIAN dress – highly PATTERNED – woven or embroidered. Difficult to distinguish construction: possibly long linen tunic with set-in sleeves (or *kandys*), under *ependytēs* fixed by a wide *zonē*, Persian style *mitra* or *kidaris* over long hair. Barefoot, unlike real stage performers.

distinguishing mark of stage costume. In the CLASSICAL period the tunic was girded with a SASH or BELT at the waist, although by the Hellenistic and Roman era this had risen to just below the breast. Over the sleeved tunic an actor wore either a **himation**, **chlamys** or some other kind of WRAP. An actor in the role of a monarch or woman could also wear a **syрма**, a robe with a train, emphasizing the character's high STATUS. Most stage costumes were elaborately worked with WOVEN PATTERNS or EMBROIDERY, making them very COSTLY, although Euripides famously reacted against this, dressing his actors in 'designer' rags. Roman stage costume (*ornamenta*) varied according to the type of play. In the republican period the *fabula palliata* – e.g. plays by Plautus and Terence modelled on Greek New Comedy – used Greek dress: tunic with **himation** or **pallium** and SANDALS (*soleae*) or soft **socci** – associated particularly with, and used to characterize, comedy. Some characters – soldiers or young men – wore the shorter **chlamys** instead of the **pallium**, and female characters – acted by men – wore women's dress, but generally characters were little differentiated from one another by costume. Slaves may have had shorter tunics with tighter sleeves, may have worn their cloak thrown back to show how busy they were, and were perhaps given red hair – older characters had white hair and younger ones black. Later Roman sources suggest a number of variants, especially in the colour of clothing appropriate to the different character types, but these were not necessarily rigorously applied. Whether masks were worn in early Roman theatre – particularly when Plautus and Terence were writing – remains unclear: they were certainly in use by the time of Cicero (*On Oratory* 3.59.221). Masks were also worn by actors performing in the Italian *phlyakes* and *fabulae Atellanae*.

Plays based on Roman legends and history were known as *fabulae togatae* or *praetextae* as the actors wore Roman dress. Costume in tragedy was characterized by the tragic mask

with its gaping mouth and high forehead (*onkos*), and high-soled boots (*cothurni*) together giving the actor added height and presence. Costumes for these traditional dramas probably retained a stylized and archaic appearance: writers of the imperial period sometimes found the combination of *cothurni*, mask and padding grotesque and ludicrous. Other, more spectacular, forms of entertainment – mime, pantomime and extravaganzas – became popular in the imperial period, and appear to have been characterized by more inventive – and skimpy – costumes: at the spring festival of Floralia it was usual for the actresses to take off their costumes altogether at the end of the play. Clearly costume came to be an important feature of such shows, seeming as, if not more, important than the plot: cf. Apuleius' detailed description of stage costumes in *Golden Ass* 10.30–1.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 404–34; Pollux, 4.119, 4.245–154; Lucian, *On Dance* 27; Brooke (1962); Csapo and Slater (1994); Beacham (1991: 183–9); *cheiridōtos*, *cheiris*, *chitōn chortaios*, *diploos*, *embades*, *himatiomisthēs*, *kothornos*, *kolpōma*, *korē*.

stamen (L) The WARP on the warp-weighted, LOOM (cf. **trama**, **subtemen**, **stēmōn**). Also, generally thread; of the FATES, Ariadne, spiders; or FILLETS.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.34, 275, 6.54, 145, 12.475; Propertius, 4.4.42.

STATUS Dress provides a portable and ubiquitous medium for expressing WEALTH and skill, affiliations and individuality, all factors which contribute to social status in most societies, ancient and modern. Although attitudes to modern dress often focus on FASHION, sexualization, and aesthetics, we must still recognize its capacity to express our social roles and attitudes, our socially established definitions of self, and our material wealth – by means of subtle, rather than gross or overt distinctions. Ancient dress was a similarly complex medium, with more

than overt, SYMBOLIC, aspects – although these are certainly important, particularly in Roman dress. Status was expressed via dress in various different ways, some closely related to affordability, thus being expressions of wealth. Only the very rich could afford true PURPLE dyes made of MUREX or pure SILK or cloth of gold, and considerable wealth was required for garments made of specially woven fabrics (*spissa*, *attalicus*), or using lavish amounts of coloured fabrics to form eye-catching complex folds, taking skill to make, wear and maintain. Writers like Martial illustrate the role of clothing in the complex one-upmanship played by the wealthier sections of urban societies like Rome – not just a question of expense: characters like the wealthy freedman Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyricon* are shown to overstep into vulgarity. The game was equally played by emperors themselves, who clearly on occasions felt threatened by the sartorial competition offered by their subjects, and as a result tried to limit or control what other people could wear, reserving certain items – like purple cloaks – for themselves.

Purple is the best-known example of a highly prized, expensive commodity: 'imperial purple' (*purpureus*, *vestio*) could be used for whole garments, while BORDERS of varying widths expressed status not solely dependent on wealth. Such expressions of wealth, clearly visible in Roman society, were also common in Greek culture, although we do not find the same degree of overt demonstration of gradations of status, cf. ANDANIA. Especially in ARCHAIC and CLASSICAL Greece, even the most costly garments would often have been home produced, so that garments could express personal prestige as well as material wealth and access to TRADE. Although even the homes of the very wealthy in Greek culture seem to have been much less ostentatious than those of the Romans, they were, from the earliest times, enhanced with *poikilos*, highly decorated and brightly coloured textiles (see PATTERN, FIGURATIVE decoration), which complemented, and were often

interchangeable with, garments. Although the emphasis on pattern in artistic representations decreases after the Archaic period, resulting in 'classical simplicity', the EPIGRAPHIC record especially emphasizes that complex decoration and bright colours continued to be important, especially in asserting the status of women (BRAURON, COLOUR SYMBOLISM). Both complex decoration, and WHITENESS of female skin – often enhanced with MAKE-UP – were indicative of a high status, leisured lifestyle.

In Roman society clothing was traditionally used to denote rank, even more pronounced in the late empire. Certain types of garments acquired particular significance in moves from one rank or status to another. The *toga* was the preserve of the Roman citizen, and the right to wear it symbolized the FREEDMAN's – or provincial's – new status just as putting on the *toga virilis* in place of the *toga praetexta* marked a young free-born Roman's transition from boyhood to manhood. It is noticeable that freedmen chose to be depicted wearing *togas* on their tombstones rather than the *pilleus*: both garments reflected their status, but the *toga* represented progress, the *pilleus* former slavery. The *stola* similarly marked out the Roman MATRON as married, the BRIDE's costume her transitory status. Senatorial families were distinguished from the EQUITES by the width of the purple STRIPES (*clavi*) on their tunics and the type of shoe known as the *calceus* separated these ranks from free-born citizens of lower status. Of greatest prestige was the right to wear the patrician *calceus mulleus* or the *toga praetexta*, only worn by the highest magistrates and boys – both perhaps being thought to need the symbolic protection of the purple border.

Various forms of JEWELLERY also signified rank: complex, changing, rules governed who could and could not wear gold and iron RINGS and special pieces were given to individuals as signs of imperial favour. Inevitably the most lavish jewellery was worn by emperors, and this developed

into the imperial **INSIGNIA** – symbols of the highest possible status. However not all signifiers of rank recalled high positions: **tunicati** was a somewhat derogatory term for the lower classes in Rome (cf. **togati**), and a toga was the sign of a fallen woman. The idea of expressing status through dress appears to have been fairly well established among other Italian peoples (**ETRUSCAN**, **SAMNITE DRESS**). The lack of comparable defined and overt symbolism in Greek dress has been used to argue that Greek dress was less significant and meaningful in general. However, the evidence overall suggests that Greek dress carried an equal range of meanings, but that these were less formalized, or unified, as we would indeed expect from this diverse culture. High status was, by and large, probably demonstrated in ways broadly similar to those above.

Clothing and adornment also marked out certain individuals or groups of people as set apart: e.g. in Rome civilians and the **MILITARY**. Other distinctions were often drawn through various kinds of **RITUAL dress**, worn permanently or temporarily (e.g. **VESTAL VIRGINS** cf. **INITIATION**, marriage, **MOURNING**). Often the people concerned were perceived as requiring protection, provided by aspects of their clothing (**bullā**, **AMULETS**, **FILLETS**, **vittae**), while **COLOURS** too could be significant. Greek garments sometimes expressed status through adoption of styles from abroad, e.g. **kandys**, or from other poleis, such as **SPARTA**. Garments which were ‘spartan’ (e.g. **tribon**) might inversely express status through extreme simplicity, particularly associated with **PHILOSOPHERS**, or **MILITARY dress**. Simplicity had different connotations than poor clothing, which expressed financial and moral destitution, sorrow or despair, see **dyseimonia**, **rhakos**. In general, the social importance of garments in expressing status is well shown by the uses of clothing in dramatic contexts, particularly in Aristophanes’ satirical portraits of Athenian life (**TRAGEDY**, **STAGE COSTUMES**), and, in a wider sense, by **CLOTHING REGULATIONS**. During the **HELLENISTIC period**, the

extension of **TRADE**, and of semi-industrialized **TEXTILE MANUFACTURE**, gradually brought Greek clothing more into line with the situation that would emerge at Rome.

fibula, **mulleus calceus**, **pullus**, **xustus**.

steganē (G) A **HAT**.

Greek Anthology 6.294.

stēmōn (G) The **WARP** of the **LOOM** (cf. **krokē**) therefore also thread.

Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 538; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 519; Menander 892.

stephanē (G) A **diadem**, or woman’s **HEADRESS** (Fig. 12, 21, 50). Those worn by **HELLENISTIC** and Roman women took the form of a circlet with a high triangular headpiece, rising to a point above the forehead, sometimes made of embossed **GOLD**.

Iliad 18.597; Hesiod, *Theogony* 578; Herodotus, 8.118; Euripides, *Hecuba* 910.

STITCHING Bone needles were invented in the Neolithic period, and sewing was a feature of Greek and Roman **TEXTILE MANUFACTURE**. In this period most needles would have been made of iron, and their fragility means that they are lost to **ARCHAEOLOGY**. Literary sources too are patchy – sewing or stitching described in Greek is most commonly in reference to **LEATHER** or skin, see **syrraptō**. The existence of **BUTTONS** and sewn buttonholes is also problematic, see **chitōn**. Evidence for patchworking in Roman times is obvious confirmation of the use of stitching, see **centonarius**. Given the **CONSTRUCTION** of Greek and Roman dress, however, with its emphasis on **DRAPING** and **FOLDS**, stitching (cf. **EMBROIDERED motifs**) was not an emphatic feature of dress. Unlike tailored garments, where stitching and **SEAMS** emphasize the complexity or subtlety of the cut, simple sewing used as a method for joining and fastening was probably less valued than the often ostentatious **PINS**, **buttons** or **BROOCHES**. Debate still rages

over the use of SEAMS in the closer fitting styles of MINOAN and Mycenaean dress, partly because seams appear to have been covered or replaced by APPLIQUÉ BANDS.

Marcar (2005: 30–43).

stola (L) A long, sleeveless, tube-shaped overdress of fairly thick material suspended from shoulder straps (*institae*) that characterized the Roman MATRON. Its distinguishing features were length – it covered the feet; attached straps; and V-shaped folds between the straps. The stola was worn over another tunic, and belted with a cord. Little is recorded about its colour, but bright colours were probably not considered APPROPRIATE. It had strong SYMBOLIC connotations: only worn by the wives of Roman citizens, it symbolized their respectability and moral character, specifically chastity and marital fidelity, and was thus a STATUS symbol, while its length and bulk deflected the male gaze and signalled immunity to improper and unwanted approaches. It was therefore a protective garment, and might be worn with woollen FILLETS or *vittae* of similar function.

Quite how old and traditional a garment it was has been questioned: certainly revived by Augustus in restoring supposedly traditional Roman customs and morality, it is not mentioned by mid-republican writers (e.g. Plautus, Terence). If it is the ‘long garment’ (Macrobius, 1.6.13–14) then it was traditionally only worn by the wives of patricians until before the second Punic War, when the right to wear it was extended to the wives of all citizens, including freedwomen. However there are very few representations of women wearing the stola before the time of Augustus, raising the question of how much it was worn before the beginning of the empire, and whether it had always been quite the symbol of matronly modesty that Augustan spin suggests. Many of the 100 or so surviving representations of the stola on marble statues and busts date from the

Augustan and early Imperial periods, and it fades away altogether in the second century AD. Nevertheless it was a potent Augustan symbol, part of a package of measures including LAWS on marriage and adultery and the promotion of the wearing of the toga by Roman – male – citizens. Augustus’s revival of the stola has been described as ‘the sartorial manifestation of the state’s efforts to control women’s sexuality’ and a form of social engineering (Bartman 1998: 41). It is not surprising that it is mentioned particularly by writers of this period: hardly an elegant or convenient garment, it was probably only worn – in life and statuary – in order to make a statement.

Ovid, *Art of Love* 1.31–2; Horace, *Satires* 1.2.99; Valerius Maximus, 2.1.5; Varro, *Latin Language* 8.28, 9.48; Nonius, 862L; Wilson (1938: 155–62); Scholz (1992).

stolē, stolis (G) Generally, equipment, outfit, especially clothes, so garments in general – less specific than stola. Frequently used for clothes in TRAGEDY. Continued in use for the scarf-like church stole.

Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 224; Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen* 846; Herodotus, 1.80; 4.78; Plato, *Laws* 833b.

stolidōma (G) A FOLD, also *stolidōdēs*, with many folds, *stolidōtos*, long, with many folds.

Greek Anthology 5.103; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 6.4.2, cf. Pollux, 7.54.

STRIPES Especially important textile PATTERNS in Roman culture, where various widths of stripe indicated social STATUS (*clavus*). Like BORDERS, stripes were a relatively easy form of WOVEN decoration to create: the stripe may appear anywhere on a textile, while a border is only found at or near its edges.

angustus, bracae, dalmatic, gausapa, hysginosēmos, polyrhabdos, porphyries, rhabdos, sagum, sameia, sarapis, trabea.

strophion (G) A breast-band (UNDERWEAR, **mastodeton**, **kestos**) also used for a HEADRESS worn by PRIESTS.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 931, *Women at the Thesmophoria* 139, 255; IG V(1) 1390.179 (ANDANIA).

strophium (L) As **strophion**: the BREASTBAND in late republican literature: **fascia** was later more common.

Cicero, *Soothsayers* 21.44; Nonius, 863L.

stupazō, **apostupazō** (G) To scutch FLAX.

Barber (1991: 263).

stuphō (G) To MORDANT or fix.

Papyrus Holmiensis 21.42, 15.18.

stuppē, **stuppeion** (G) Tow, broken FLAX fibres combed out in scutching.

Herodotus, 8.52; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.5.23.

stuppinos (G) Like coarse fibres of FLAX or HEMP, therefore coarse, of garments. At BRAURON it seems to be opposite to **amorginon**.

IG II² 1414.26 (DEDICATIONS to ATHENA); IG II² 1517B.125.

stuptēria (G) Alums, MORDANTS.

Herodotus, 2.180; *Papyrus Holmiensis* 1.4, 7.

S-TWIST In SPINNING, the twist of the fibres is determined by: the type of fibre – FLAX, HEMP; the handedness of the spinner; and their method of twisting the SPINDLE. Threads in which the individual fibres lie on a downwards diagonal from left to right are called ‘S-twist’ while the converse is ‘Z-twist’ – from these letter shapes. Different spinning traditions tend to display one or the other for specific fibre types, which can help ARCHAEOLOGISTS determine the origin of textiles. Deliberate selection of S- and Z-spun threads can also be used to create visual effects and

apparent PATTERNS in WEAVING, because they catch the light and direct the eye in different ways.

Barber (1991: 65–6).

subarmalis (L) In the Vindolanda tablets, possibly a leather garment worn under armour, fitted with **pteruges**.

subligaculum, **subligar** (L) A LOINCLOTH, worn over the hips and genitals – by Roman ATHLETES, early Romans under the **toga**, ACTORS on stage, workmen, GLADIATORS and possibly also SOLDIERS – the equivalent of the Greek **perizoma**. (See also **campestre** and **licium**.) It does not appear to have been worn routinely as UNDERWEAR by Roman civilians.

Cicero, *On Offices* 1.35.129; Juvenal, 6.70; Pliny, *NH* 12.32.59; Nonius 42L.

subsutus (L) From **suo**, trimmed or FRINGED.

vestis, Horace, *Satires* 1.2.29.

subtemen, **subtegmen** (L) From **texo**, therefore WOVEN, or WARP and WEFT thread.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.56; Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.483; Tyrium, Tibullus, 4.1.122.

subucula (L) A LINEN undertunic, UNDERWEAR. Worn – probably – by both sexes, but certainly by men – Augustus wore four tunics *and* a subucula – perhaps the same as **indusium**, **supparus** and **camisia**.

Horace, *Epistles* 1.1.95; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131; Suetonius, *Augustus* 82.1.

sudarium (L) A handkerchief, or scarf, worn round the neck, cf. **rica**.

Suetonius, *Nero* 51; Nonius, 865L.

suffibulum (L) The short, WHITE, square or rectangular VEIL with a **praetexta** border worn over the VESTAL VIRGINS' complex hairstyle while sacrificing, fastened by a

fibula on the chest: this 'pinning below' perhaps gave the garment its name.

Varro, *Latin Language* 6.21; Festus, 348–9.

SUMPTUARY LAW Some sumptuary elements relating to dress can be found in Roman LAWS, while various Greek funerary and CLOTHING REGULATIONS have similar features, but sumptuary laws relating to clothing are better attested in medieval Europe and Japan. Nevertheless, their study can, with care, help us understand some aspects of Greek and Roman dress, particularly its importance as a social and STATUS symbol, and as WEALTH.

Cleland (forthcoming a).

suo (L) To SEW or stitch; join or tack together.

Cicero, *Nature of the Gods* 2.60.150.

supparum (L) A LINEN undertunic, worn by girls and BRIDES – but not men or married women – probably much the same kind of garment as the *indusium*, *camisia* and *subucula*. Varro, however, suggests it was worn *above* rather than *under* and that it was of Oscan derivation.

Festus, 311; Nonius, 866L; Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.232; Varro, *Latin Language* 5.131.

sutis (L) From **suo**, SEWN, bound or fastened together.

balteus, Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.273; 6.414; SKINS, Ovid, *Fasti* 5.335.

SWADDLING The ancient practice of wrapping babies tightly so that movement of the limbs is restricted, used to ensure they achieved a proper posture. Votive statues DEDICATED by Greek and Roman women who died in childbirth display babies in swaddling clothes. Models representing babies wrapped in swaddling clothes have been excavated in shrines dedicated to Amphiarus: these were apparently frequently given as thank-offerings

by anxious mothers when their infants had recovered from sickness. The most famous record of swaddling is probably the New Testament description of the infant Jesus.

Luke 2.6–7; Garland (1990: 81–2).

sygkis, sykchis (G) A SANDAL, or SHOE.

SYMBOLISM, SYMBOLIC DRESS Many forms and aspects of dress had symbolic meanings in the Greek and Roman worlds. However, overt symbolic meaning is simply the most obvious, not the only, meaningful content of clothing. Often we know what was symbolic, but not why: we do not yet properly understand the full spectrum of meanings attached to dress in different contexts, for specific groups of people. We can say, therefore, that various CROWNS signified specific statuses, as did different types of **diadēma**: TROUSERS and SKINS showed foreignness and BARBARISM; the *toga* was symbolic of Roman male citizens, the *flammeum* and *nodus Herculeus* their BRIDES, the *stola* their wives. WHITE symbolized purity, PURPLE royalty and STATUS, DIRT impurity and MOURNING, SAFFRON female sexuality, and *vittae* and *infulae* the ritual context. But we do not fully understand how and why headbands and HEADDRESSES came to be such important symbols, or how the roles of clearly symbolic colours interacted with the general use and significance of COLOUR. Therefore, it is always valuable to at least attempt to go beyond the fact of an item's symbolic content, relating this to the person using it, their context and the infinite variety of daily life. It is also worth interrogating our source texts for how they use the concept of symbolic dress to construct, as well as convey, character and meaning.

synerammenon (G) SEWN, gathered.

Athenaeus, 8.362e; Isocrates, 5.138.

synthesis (L) A suit, usually worn when attending dinner parties, but also for other leisure activities: correct for **Saturnalia**, but not conducting official business – Suetonius’ description of Nero wearing the **synthesis** in public is clearly critical. It probably consisted of a tunic with a cloak or wrap (**pallium**, **abolla**) and could be very colourful (see **cenatoria**, DINING CLOTHES). The FASHIONABLE – wealthy – men of the later first century AD would own several in various hues. The Arval Brethren (PRIESTS)

wore white **syntheses** for ritual dining together.

Martial, 14.1.1, 2.4.46, 5.79; Suetonius, *Nero* 51.

syrma (G) An ACTOR’S robe with a long train.

Pollux, 7.67.

syrraptō, **syrraptos** (G) To SEW or stitch.

Hesiod, *Works and Days* 544; Herodotus, 2.86, 4.64.

T

TABLET-WEAVING **WARP** threads are threaded through holes in the corners of thin wood or bone cards, stacked like a deck: numerous sheds can then be created by rotation – with skill, a relatively easy way to weave highly complex patterns. However, width is determined by the size of the cards, which must be small enough to be easily manipulated. Highly-patterned **BANDS** and **FILLETS** were probably woven in this way.

Barber (1991: 118–20).

tablion (G) Greek for the wide **clavus**. In modern literature, the rectangular inset of contrasting colour on the **chlamys** of court officials in **LATE ANTIQUITY** as a sign of high rank – sometimes **PATTERNED**. In Figure 8, the court official's white cloak had a plain purple **tablion**, Justinian's deep purple cloak a gold **tablion** with blue-green birds in red circles.

tainia, **taenia** (G and L) A **FILLET**, worn by **ATHLETES** as a sign of victory.

Plato, *Symposium* 212e; Pausanias, 6.20.19; Virgil, *Aeneid* 5.269. cf. **vitta**.

talaros (G) A **WOOL-basket**. Like **talasourgos**, ultimately derived from weighing wool as a means of allotting it to specific projects, cf. **pendo**, and therefore, cf. **kalathos**, referring to a basket holding

wool measured out for a particular garment, see **TEXTILE MANUFACTURING**.

Odyssey 4.125–35.

talasourgia/ikos (G) The **SPINNING** of **WOOL**.

Plato, *Laws* 805e; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.9.11; *Household Management* 7.6.

talasourgos (G) A **WOOL SPINNER**, male or female.

Plato, *Ion* 540c.

TALISMANS See **AMULETS**, **amuletum**, **infula**.

TANNING Treating animal **SKIN** with various natural acids – e.g. from tree bark or galls – in order to arrest its decay. A very wide variety of tanning processes based on these substances was used in the Greek and Roman worlds to create a huge range of **LEATHER** types for various uses. Tanning, like **DYEING**, was a notoriously smelly process, and so often carried out in workshops some distance from residential centres.

coriarius, **dermatourgikos**.

TAPESTRY A type of **PATTERN WEAVING** used for textiles in the Greek and Roman worlds, but apparently not for elaborate scenes as in the medieval period – large **FIGURED** textiles were instead made using registers of patterns (Barber 1991: 365, 157–9). It allows the

creation of solid blocks of various COLOURS by floating them over the WARP when necessary, under when not required. Used for the WOOLLEN bands and roundels that decorated LINEN tunics of the later imperial period – late third century AD onward – reused when the original tunic wore out.

Babylonicus, epiblēma, poikilia, BROCADE, EMBROIDERY.

tarantinon, tarantinidion (G) A garment made of semi-TRANSPARENT cloth, from Tarentum; similar in nature to amorginon, with similar issues. Perhaps defined by fabric – possibly woven from the golden beard of the *pinna mobilis* shellfish, a practice which survived until recent centuries – origin or style. It appears in catalogues of DEDICATED garments (Tanagra, Schwyzer 462B.46, four garments, BRAURON 10: one garment described as half-WOVEN, implying local production).

Menander, *Epitrepontes* 272, 489; *IG* II² 1522.26; Dalby (2002: 116); Maeder (1999: 22–6).

TASSELS Many garments in antiquity had tasselled hems or BORDERS sometimes with SYMBOLIC or religious functions (Figs 13, 28, 40). Tasselled garments were commonly found in EGYPTIAN and Mesopotamian dress, worn as decorations or AMULETS to keep away evil spirits. Highly elaborate tassels decorated the tunics and mantles of the Assyrian elite, who also used tasselled PARASOLS. Tassels are routinely found decorating women’s dress in Greece and Rome, and a fashion for four tassels worn attached to the shoulders – two hanging at the back and front – appears to have been a status symbol among ETRUSCAN women in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. In mythology APHRODITE wears a SASH decorated with a hundred tassels. The *paludamentum* of high-ranking Roman military officers might also be tasselled.

Numbers 15:37–9; 1 Samuel 24:10; *Iliad* 14.181; *thysanos*, *thysantōtos*, *rhoiskos*, WEAVING.



Figure 40 Woman holding folds of linen chitōn in mouth while tying TASSEL belt to form kolpos, wearing sakkos.

taurina (L) An ox-hide SANDAL, worn single- or double-soled by women.

Price Edict of Diocletian, 9.15–16.

tēbenna, tēbennos (G) Used by some Greek writers for the toga. Also used in modern literature for the ETRUSCAN forerunner of the Roman toga. This garment first appeared in the late sixth century BC and was semi-circular or elliptical, so hanging differently from the rectangular himation (Fig. 15). The curved edge was often emphasized by a border of contrasting colour – perhaps the forerunner of the praetexta. Originally worn by women as well as men, draped in a

number of ways: like the **chlamys**, fastened with a brooch; with both ends thrown back over the shoulders; or diagonally across the body, like the toga.

Polybius, 10.4.8, 26.1.5; Pollux, 7.61; Bonfante (2003: 48–56).

tegidion (G) A face-VEIL with eye-holes – literally ‘little roof’ – worn by women from at least the fourth century BC, throughout the HELLENISTIC period, widely attested in Asia Minor and Egypt.

Heraclides Criticus, 1.18; Llewellyn-Jones (2003).

tela (L) The web in WEAVING, the WARP or the LOOM itself.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.264; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.35; 6.576.

TEMPLES, AS TEXTILE TREASURIES Garments were frequently DEDICATED, and particular sanctuaries – Artemis at BRAURON, Tanagra and Miletus, or Hera on Samos – had major textile collections: their catalogues provide unusually good evidence for dress. Garments represented WEALTH, as did the more obvious – to us – precious metals, and the strict records kept of the collections, as well as being rich SOURCES in themselves, emphasize this aspect of clothing in the ancient world.

Cleland (2005b).

termioeis (G) A WARP FRINGE – i.e. the bottom ends of the warp cut from the LOOM WEIGHTS – cf. **peza**.

Iliad 16.803; *Odyssey* 19.242; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 537; Barber (1991: 274).

texo (L) To WEAVE, cf. **detexto**, **intexto**.

Tibullus, 2.3.54.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY, ROMAN Although some textiles were still MANUFACTURED at home, in particular on country estates, the production of textiles and clothing in the Roman world developed into a highly complex and well-

organized industry with specialist production of various types of textiles in different areas of the empire and a network of merchants and retailers for their distribution to all the provinces, but especially to Rome. Good quality WOOL in various natural colours was produced and processed in Italy, while parts of various provinces were also well known, especially Gaul. LINEN too was produced in several centres: EGYPT was the most important producer of the best quality linen – each of the nomes specialized in its own weave – later overshadowed by other centres in the east. Scythopolis had an imperial-owned weaving house – and linen of various qualities was produced at several centres in the western provinces, too. Much SILK and COTTON was probably TRADED from outside the empire, but some – e.g. COAN SILK – would have been manufactured within the empire. DYEING and FULLING were also major industries, operating at both specialist and more local centres. Inscriptions provide evidence for the trade organizations (*collegia*) of various workers in the clothing industry, and other more ephemeral documents provide occasional glimpses of the scale of the trade. One example is a second or third-century AD papyrus from Egypt (*Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* Hels 40) which appears to document 1,956 items of clothing – three different types of textile – exported by five merchants over one week. If this rate of production was typical and was maintained at a constant rate, nearly 100,000 items a year would have been made and exported from this one centre.

Van Minnen (1986).

TEXTILE MANUFACTURE A long and complex process was required to create every single garment and textile of the ancient world, whether basic or LUXURIOUS, home-produced or for SALE. Raw material of PLANT FIBRE or animal HAIR first had to be procured through farming, gathering or TRADE, then undergo basic processing before being FELTED, or more commonly CARDED then SPUN by hand. The resulting WOOL or FLAX thread might be DYED

at this stage, or **WOVEN** – in its natural colour – into a wide variety of **FABRIC** types. Once taken from the **LOOM** these might be dyed or **EMBROIDERED** and would also be finished by **FULLING**. Finished cloth might be shaped by **SEWING** or hemming, but was more often woven to the desired shape. Barber (1991) gives a full account of all the processes, tools and skills involved.

alidense, **amphimallos**, **ergasia**, **ergastērion**, **gnapsis**, **hēmihyphēs**, **histopodes**, **histopoiia**, **histoponos**, **indusiarius**, **knapheutikē**, **leukos**, **nēma**, **neō**, **onos**, **peplos**, etc.

TEXTILE MOTIFS Ancient art provides us with an immense portfolio of decorative motifs represented as part of garments or textiles, and a large group of **POTTERY** motifs which may be derived from **PATTERNED TEXTILES**. However, due to the nature of sources for textiles, it is very difficult to relate these to specific words, although **EPIGRAPHIC** texts indicate such words existed. Sometimes we can deduce the pattern from the nature of the terms themselves (e.g. **pyrgotos**, **parakymatios**, **ktenoton**, battlement pattern, wavy, spiky) while others are less clear (e.g. **thermastin**, possibly ‘tong’ motif). Complex borders were particularly common, as were scattered flower motifs.

Miller (1997: 176–8).

textor/textrix (L) A male/female **WEAVER**, from **texo**.

Martial, 12.59.6, 4.19.1; Juvenal, 9.30; Tibullus, 2.1.65.

textrinum (L) **WEAVING**.

Seneca, *Epistles* 90.20; Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.6.17.

thalassinus (L) Literally, like the sea, a **GREEN** or **PURPLE**-tinged **BLUE**.

vestis, Lucretius, 4.1127.

thalassobapheō, **thalassobaphēs** (G) To **DYE PURPLE**.

Philo Byzantius, *de Septem Miraculis* 2.4; Scholiast on *Odyssey* 6.53; **baptō**.

thalassoeidēs (G) Literally, looking like the sea, possibly sea **GREEN** or **BLUE**.

Democritus Ephesius, 1.

thapsinos (G) **YELLOW**. From *thapsos*, a yellow **DYE**, imported from Thapsos. cf. **luteus**.

chitōnion *IG* II² 1522.24; **kroke**, Pritchett 1956: 207.

THEATRICAL COSTUME See **STAGE COSTUMES**, **TRAGEDY ACTORS**.

THEFT, OF CLOTHING Especially common for the garments of travellers or **BATHERS**, the existence of specific terms, and their extension from garments to other forms of theft, emphasizes the **VALUE** of garments as portable wealth. The cost and portability of clothes made them popular targets for thieves: Tibullus (1.2.26) writes of being afraid of walking through Rome after dark for fear of being mugged for his clothes. Theft of one's clothes was a serious misfortune – since most people would have had at most one change of clothes – serious enough to be worth writing a curse tablet (*defixio*) cursing the thief and asking for the return of the garments concerned; examples have been found at Roman Bath – a hooded cloak – and at Caerleon – a **pallium** and **GALLIC SANDALS**.

SECOND-HAND CLOTHES; **himatiokleptēs**, **lypodyteo**.

theristrion, **theristrion** (G) Literally, ‘reaping’, ‘sickle’ respectively, from these, light summer garments, cf. **ledion**.

Theocritus, 15.69; Philo, 1.666.

thermastis (G) A **WOVEN** tong-pattern **BORDER**, from *thermastris*, tongs or pincers.

BRAURON, *IG* II² 1514.28; *IG* II² 1414.42; Aristotle, *Mechanics* 854a24.

thrix (G) HAIR, cf. **trichapton**.

Iliad 24.359, *Odyssey* 13.341; Thucydides, 1.6.

thylakos (G) Literally, BAG, a contemporary term for a garment, slang for the loose TROUSERS worn by PERSIANS.

Herodotus, 3.46; Euripides, *Cyclops* 182; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1087.

thyсанος (G) A TASSEL, or FRINGE.

Iliad 2.448; Herodotus, 4.189; Pindar, *Pythean Odes* 4.231.

thyсанτότος (G) TASSELLED or FRINGED.

Herodotus, 2.81; *Iliad* 15.229, 21.400.

tiara, **TIARA** (L) A high turban HEAD-DRESS, associated by the Romans with the east and royalty: part of the regalia worn by Priam and rescued from Troy to be handed down to the people of Italy. Armenians are also represented wearing tiaras on Roman coins, as are some deities on PALMYRENE reliefs. The tiara has survived as part of the ceremonial costume of the Pope.

Isidore, *Origins* 19.21.3; Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.246–8; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.181; CROWNS, *diadēma*.

tibiale (L) A bandage for the shins (*tibia*), worn for warmth.

Suetonius, *Augustus* 82.1.

tincta (L) DYED or COLOURED fabric.

Cicero, *Laws* 2.18.45.

tingo (L) To DYE, generally wet or dip.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.9; Horace, *Carmina* 2.16.36.

toga (L) A quintessentially Roman garment, worn as the formal dress of Roman citizens for virtually the whole of Roman history (Figs 24, 41–5). It was at first a very simple, all-purpose draped garment worn by both

men and women – never FASTENED. Its main characteristic, shared with the **tebenna** – distinguishing it from the **himation** – was its curved edge: like the ETRUSCANS, the Romans might emphasize this with coloured borders. In Rome, this border was usually purplish red and came to be an important STATUS signifier (**toga praetexta**). In early Rome the **toga** was worn without a tunic, with only a LOINCLOTH underneath, an old tradition allegedly revived by Cato (Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 6.3.3), but by the second century BC it was usually worn over a TUNIC. The **toga** was already seen in the late republic as the Romans' distinguishing garment. Virgil calls Romans the *gens togata* – togate race: Aeneas – not yet a Roman – wears an **amictus** instead. In the Augustan period togas were officially promoted, and became bulkier, more complex and cumbersome garments, worn increasingly on ceremonial occasions rather than everyday, whereas the early toga had apparently been worn even during heavy labour on the land or in battle (see **cinctus Gabinus**).

Togas were normally made of woven WOOL, although Pliny says they were in early times made from cloth of poppy-stem fibres (NH 8.74.195). Their traditional COLOUR was natural undyed WHITE. The main evidence for their shape and method of draping is representations of **toga**-clad figures in art, but modern authors have disagreed on the precise shape of the pattern: the shape of earlier togas (Figs 41, 43) seems to have been an elongated half-circle with one straight and one curved edge, but the outer edge may have been a smooth curve, or shaped more like a rectangle with the corners cut off. It has been estimated as 3.5 metres in length. Early imperial togas (Figs 42, 45) were much larger, and more elliptical in shape – length nearer five metres, width perhaps 2.5 metres – folded to create a shape similar to the earlier toga before draping. The large amount of cloth required for one **toga** may have been woven in a single piece on the loom – requiring a very wide loom for the imperial **toga** – or made up of narrower strips sewn together. Quintilian

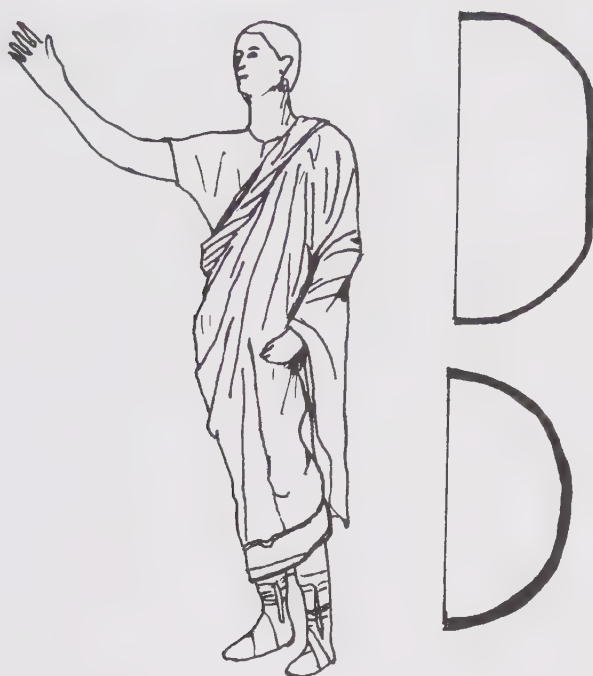


Figure 41 Statue of Aule Meteli, known as the Arringatore (Orator), c. 100 BC, Florence Archaeological Museum. He wears a republican-style **toga**: diagrams show two different reconstructions of the pattern used: (top) according to Wilson; (bottom) according to Goette.

says it should be round (*rotunda*) and made to fit the wearer: although the phrase (*apte caesam*) implies cut to fit, it would be more consistent with ancient clothing if it were rather woven to the required dimensions (11.3.139). The amount of **FABRIC** made the toga very expensive, a major **COST** for those of modest means (Martial, 2.44.1–4). This may explain the skimpier versions seen in many crowd scenes.

The art of wearing the **toga** lay in its **DRAPING** – often requiring the aid of two or three slaves – and the ability to keep the elegant folds in place: methods of draping changed over time, with a general trend towards greater complexity and formality. In its earliest and simplest form (Fig. 41) the **toga** was simply wrapped diagonally round the body: first placed over the left shoulder with the straight edge towards the neck,

hanging vertically down the front on the left side with one pointed end (**lacinia**) falling to about knee level. The rest of the material was then taken diagonally across the back, under the right arm, and then over the left shoulder again, with the other **lacinia** falling at the back at about the same level as the one at the front. On Figure 41, generally taken to be a good representation of the **toga exigua** – earlier epublican toga – but actually of an Etruscan magistrate, the curved edge seems to be clearly marked with some kind of border whose nature (cf. **praetexta**) has been debated. Roman statues of the first century BC often show men wearing the toga in a different way (Fig. 43): instead of being taken under the right arm – thus leaving it free – the drapery is carried over the right shoulder and forms an arm-sling for the right arm: very similar to

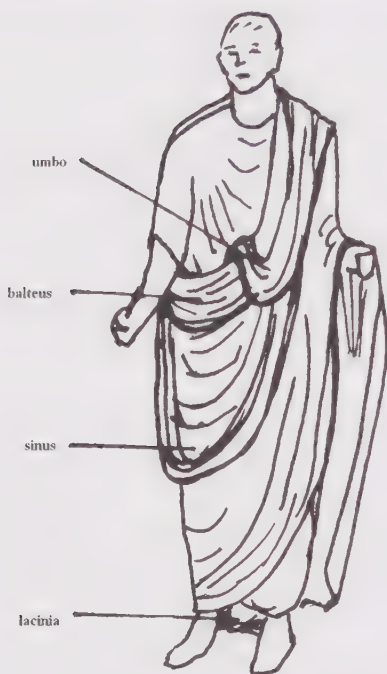


Figure 42 Statue from Herculaneum, Naples Archaeological Museum of a man wearing the early imperial style of toga with **balteus**, **umbo** and **sinus**. Mid first century AD.

the Greek *himation* or *pallium*, and perhaps a Hellenizing trend in Roman fashion at this time. Togas worn this way are generally much longer, reaching almost to the feet. Quintilian remarks on this difference as requiring a different style of gesture in oratory than of his own day and suggests that these are more Greek forms (11.3.137–8, 143). During the reign of Augustus, the *toga* became even larger and more complex: the move toward this early imperial type is well documented in the processional scenes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae* of 13–9 BC. The early imperial *toga* (Figs 42, 45) seems to have been elliptical rather than semi-circular, perhaps an asymmetrical design folded vertically. The method of draping was an elaboration of

that of the *Arringatore*: the folded cloth was first placed over the left shoulder, hanging down the front of the left side of the figure with the fold towards the neck and the overfold on top – the *lacinia* of this much longer material hangs by the left foot. It is then, as before, draped diagonally across the back and under the right arm, and thrown over the left shoulder again. However, the overfold is arranged to form an elegant U-shaped set of folds (*sinus*) hanging over the right leg to about knee level: to help keep these in place the material at the waist is rolled or bunched into a tighter set of folds (*balteus*). Some of the material from the lower layer was also pulled out to form a clump of folds (*umbo*). This method allowed for fairly unrestricted movement of the right arm, but very restricted movement of the left, which had to be held close to the body



Figure 43 Statue of a man wearing a toga with the 'arm-sling' style of draping. Late first century BC, National Museum, Rome.



Figure 44 Statue in the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome of a man wearing the 'contabulate' or banded toga, c. AD 260.

to support the double layer of cloth over the shoulder and keep it in place. It appears usual for all of the first and most of the second centuries AD, and continued into the fourth century alongside other types. It is clearly the type referred to by Quintilian's advice for the aspiring orator of the late first century AD: the *toga* should be carefully arranged with every fold in the right place at the beginning of his speech, but might become somewhat unravell'd as the speech becomes more impassioned (11.3.137–40). The ability to control the toga was the mark of the Roman gentleman: togas represented on portrait statues are all impeccably arranged and worn with consummate ease. Quintilian recommends that the *sinus* should hang just above the level of the hem of the tunic, and never lower, but acknowledges that fashions change, and, as the drapery of

toga statues from different periods shows, the *sinus* goes through various fashionable lengths. Alternative DRAPING was also possible: quite a popular variant of the second century AD has the cloth over the left shoulder arranged in a triangular or fan-shape.

The biggest change was the development of the banded or 'contabulate' toga (TOGA CONTABULATA) at the end of the second century AD (Fig. 44). This is the usual type represented in the third and fourth centuries: parts of the cloth were folded three to four times back on each other, to form a wide band of stacked concertina-like folds running up the front and diagonally across the chest: some representations suggest they were held by concealed stitching or tacking. Tertullian (*Pallium* 5.1–2) recommends the *pallium* over the *toga*, which required pleating the day before and overnight pressing. This was a much more formal arrangement, fitting the *toga*'s increasingly ceremonial function, but it does not seem to have ousted other methods of draping: in art, sacrificing figures still wear the early imperial toga which more easily allowed use of the overfold to VEIL, and it was often chosen by the groom at his WEDDING, e.g. 'Brothers Sarcophagus' (Naples Archaeological Museum, c. AD 260). The banded version of the toga continued to be worn in the western empire in LATE ANTIQUITY, but in the east yet another form developed, with a broad triangular fan of drapery over the left shoulder, shorter, and worn over two long tunics clearly visible below the hem (Fig. 24). Later still, in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, very highly decorated garments, barely recognizable as togas, are represented on consular diptychs (see *trabea*).

Virtually all methods made the *toga* a heavy, hot, cumbersome garment, both expensive and high maintenance: it is hardly surprising that people were reluctant to wear it. Even in the republic some important Romans were tempted to wear the more comfortable – but INAPPROPRIATE – 'GREEK' DRESS. The *toga* therefore

needed Augustus' boost to retain its position as the Roman national costume (Suetonius, *Augustus* 40.5). The requirement that citizens, especially SENATORS and EQUITES, should wear the toga for formal business was reiterated by later emperors, who themselves often tried to set a good example. One of the attractions of leaving Rome for the COUNTRYSIDE was that one did not have to wear the toga, and Juvenal famously remarked that most Italians only wore the toga at their funeral (3.172, 177–8). As time went on, however, wearing the toga took on new connotations in Rome: it symbolized civilian power and a state at peace, as opposed to military power and a state at war – so Marcus Aurelius insisted on it even for soldiers in Italy (SHA, *Marcus Aurelius* 27.3).

The toga distinguished the male citizen from non-citizens – their wives, as MATRONS, had their own distinctive form of dress – but according to tradition the toga was also worn by girls up to the age of puberty and by adulteresses and PROSTITUTES. Arnobius alludes to the custom of girls dedicating their *togula puella* to Fortuna Virginalis (*Adversus Nationes* 2.67). Girls are only very rarely represented wearing the toga in art, and those images that do survive are concentrated in the late republic and Augustan eras: it remains doubtful how often girls wore the toga in reality. Respectable matrons would certainly not wear the toga: a symbol of disgrace, it suggested the woman was guilty of adultery and promiscuity, and thus no better than a prostitute (Martial 2.39, 10.52; Juvenal, 2.70). The thinking behind this was perhaps that a woman assuming male sexual freedoms – disgraceful in Roman eyes – should be dressed like a man. It is unclear whether adulteresses and prostitutes were obliged to wear the toga, how frequently or routinely such women actually did, or what sort of garment it was, a man's heavy plain white toga, or a more 'feminine', perhaps brightly coloured and flimsy, version. Seneca (*Epistles* 114.21) deprecates the wearing of

transparent togas but does not specify which sex wore them.

Roman boys wore the toga praetexta until their official arrival at manhood, when they began to wear the plain white toga virilis instead. The toga praetexta was otherwise worn by the higher – curule – magistrates (e.g. consuls and praetors) and by priests when sacrificing (*capite velato*) (Fig. 45). Freedmen who became Roman citizens on manumission from slavery were proud to wear the toga as a sign of their new status, and are often so shown on their tombstones, and public slaves may also have worn it. Aristocrats and the upper levels of society were expected to wear the toga on all public occasions, especially on official business – e.g. speaking in the law courts or attending Senate meetings – as were clients attending their patron. The Praetorian Guard wore togas on duty in Rome, presumably to minimize their martial appearance (Tacitus, *Annals* 16.27; *Histories* 1.38). A special type of toga, the dark-coloured toga pulla, was required for funerals, and the bright white toga candida when canvassing for votes; the toga picta was worn by victorious generals at their triumph, and emperors might wear all-PURPLE togas. The toga was possibly hardly ever worn by the lower classes and poor citizens – who could probably not afford one. Nevertheless, throughout the Roman imperial period the toga continued to be seen as the most 'Roman' form of dress, a symbol of Roman citizenship which might be worn by PROVINCIALS who became Roman citizens (ROMANIZATION) and a symbol of civilian life (Cicero, *Against Piso* 29.72, 30.73; Velleius Paterculus, 1.12.3) in the face of the growing importance of the military.

Nonius, 867L; Aulus Gellius, 6.12.3; Pliny, *NH* 34.11.23; SHA *Hadrian* 22.2–5; *Alexander Severus* 40.7; Wilson (1924; 1938: 36–54); Goette (1990); Shelley Stone (1994: 13–45); Richardson and Richardson (1966: 251–68); Granger-Taylor (1982: 3–25); Christ (1997: 24–30); Davies (2005: 121–30).

toga candida (L) A **toga** specially WHITENED by bleaching or FULLING, worn by candidates – the origin of the word – for various offices, **candidatus**.

Livy, 4.25.13; Isidore, *Origins* 19.24.6.

TOGA CONTABULATA Modern term for the 'banded' **toga** (Fig. 44 cf. **contabulata**).

Tertullian, *Pallium* 5.1.

TOGA EXIGUA Modern term for the short **toga** seen on late republican togate figures (Fig. 41). Used by Horace of a skimpy toga.

Epistles 1.19.13.

toga muliebris (L) Woman's **toga**, worn by adulteresses and PROSTITUTES, used by Cicero to cast aspersions on Mark Antony's sexuality and morals.

Cicero, *Philippic* 2.18.44.

toga picta (L) A DECORATED **toga**, worn by a victorious general (*triumphator*) at his TRIUMPH, and by the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome. Roman tradition suggests that the kings of Rome wore elaborately decorated togas, but Festus (208) says the decorated **toga** was a later invention, and early regal costume was a plain PURPLE toga. An ETRUSCAN origin is supported by the FIGURED himation represented in the fourth-century BC Francois Tomb, Vulci. The **toga picta** may have been worked in gold on a purple background, but there is no clear record of the design or how it was applied – painted, EMBROIDERED (*acupingere*) or woven. It seems that emperors usurped the right to the **toga picta**, which until the 230s AD was a venerable garment kept in the Templé of Jupiter and only worn on special occasions: Gordian I was the first emperor to have his own personal **toga picta**.

Livy, 10.7.9, 30.15.11; Pliny, *NH* 8.74.195; SHA *Severus Alexander* 40.8, *Three Gordians* 4.4.

toga praetexta (L) A toga with a purplish-red coloured BORDER, worn by

curule MAGISTRATES, some PRIESTS when sacrificing, and CHILDREN. Coloured borders were also used on various items of ETRUSCAN DRESS (Fig. 15 **tebenna** with dark purple borders). Tullus Hostilius was said to have introduced the toga praetexta along with various other INSIGNIA of Etruscan magistrates. The right to wear it was granted to the son of Tarquinius Priscus as reward for an act of conspicuous courage, a right extended, first to aristocratic boys, and later – second Punic War – to all free-born boys. The border was APOTROPAIC marking out someone to be treated with deference (e.g. avoiding vulgarity, Festus 244–5). Boys on reaching manhood would give up their toga praetexta and consecrate it to their household gods, taking on the plain white **toga virilis** instead. Girls – insofar as they ever actually wore togas at all – presumably also wore it.

The praetexta border was woven using threads dyed with MUREX or cheaper imitations. Scholars do not agree exactly where on the garment the border was: all traces of borders painted on marble statues or reliefs have disappeared. Fig. 41 shows a border round the curved edge of the toga, regarded by most commentators as a praetexta on that edge only. However, Granger-Taylor (1982) suggests this is a twining designed to strengthen the edge, and that the praetexta on the republican toga must have run along the straight edge. For the imperial toga, some see the purple border running all round the edge, others think it only ran round part of it – including the edge of the sinus – while Goette suggests part of the edge and a stripe down the middle (Abb. 3; 1989: 4–5). The best evidence comes from a small number of togate figures painted on *lararia* (household shrines) at Pompeii, the best preserved being Figure 45. In this case at least the border ran only round the edge of the folded part of the toga, and can be seen on the edge of the sinus; there is no sign of colour on the balteus or lower edge. This figure is represented *capite velato*: to create this effect the wearer seems



Figure 45 Figure from a painted household shrine (*lararium*) in the House of the Vettii, Pompeii, wearing the **toga praetexta**: a rare illustration showing the **PURPLE** border. The diagram shows a possible pattern for the garment, with the placing of the purple **BORDER** indicated.

to have taken the curved edge of the overfold over his head, and has also pulled part of the same edge out from underneath the upper layer of drapery to form the **umbo** – represented in a red colour.

Pliny, *NH* 9.63.136, 8.74.195; Nonius 868L; Gabelmann (1983: 497–541); Sebesta (2005: 113–20).

toga pulla (L) A dark toga not the usual WHITE or light colour – often **atratus**, BLACK, or any dark colour – worn in **MOURNING** and to the funeral – the officiator wore a **toga both pulla** and **praetexta** (Festus 236), but **INAPPROPRIATE** for the funeral feast afterwards. **Sordes** or **toga sordidata** worn by the defendant and his supporters in the law courts may have appeared similar, but was soiled as opposed to the dark – but clean – **toga pulla**.

Cicero, *Against Vatinius* 12.30, 13.31; **pullus**, **TUNIC**.

toga pura (L) A toga in the natural, off-WHITE, colour of WOOL, like the **toga virilis**: both are contrasted with **CHILDREN'S toga praetexta**.

toga purpurea (L) A toga of PURPLE-DYED WOOL, worn in early triumphs, and by early kings of Rome, it continued to be associated with royalty, and was probably also worn by Roman emperors. The right to wear one was voted to Julius Caesar by the Senate.

Livy, 27.4.8–10, 31.11.12; Cicero, *Philippic* 2.34.85.

toga rasa (L) A toga with a closely clipped NAP of smooth pile.

Pliny, *NH* 8.74.195.

toga virilis (L) The plain WHITE **toga** worn by Roman male citizens, also **toga pura**: assumed by boys when they officially reached manhood and laid aside their **toga praetexta** at the festival of Liberalia.

Cicero, *Philippic* 2.18.44; Livy, 26.19.5.

togata (L) An immodest woman, PROSTITUTE.

Horace, *Satires* 1.2.63; Martial, 6.64.4; **toga muliebris**.

togatus (L) Literally, wearing the **toga**, used to characterize or distinguish Romans (*togati*) from other peoples; it also came to denote STATUS in the imperial period, distinguishing the upper from the lower classes (**tunicati**).

Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.282; Livy, 3.26.9; Cicero, *Philippic* 5.5.14.

togula (L) A small **toga**, associated with the less well-off – who could not afford or did not need an expensive **toga** – and the **toga** worn by little girls.

Martial, 4.66.1–4; Arnobius, *Adversum Nationes* 2.67.

tolupē (G) A rove or roll of WOOL ready for SPINNING, or a ball of SPUN yarn.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 586; *Greek Anthology* 6.106; Arrian, *Indica* 7.3.

tolupeuō (G) To wind off thread.

Barber (1991: 268); Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 587.

TORQUE, **torques/torquis** (L) A heavy, metal, circular necklet, usually left open with decorated ends, often GOLD and fashioned from twisted wire. Characteristic of the Celts or Gauls – who wore it into battle (the only dress worn by the Pergamene ‘Dying Gaul’ statue) – it was worn over a wide area including northern Europe and parts of Asia, also by PERSIANS. It was adopted by the ETRUSCANS after c. 400BC and later became a Roman FASHION item.

The Roman cognomen Torquatus allegedly came from torques awarded as MILITARY DECORATIONS; later Roman soldiers also proudly displayed torques awarded to them on their tombstones.

Strabo, 4.4.5; Polybius, 2.31.4; Suetonius, *Augustus* 43.2, 25.3.

trabea (L) A ceremonial garment of great antiquity, possibly descended from the ETRUSCAN **tebenna**, worn by the kings of Rome and later by certain PRIESTS (**Salii** and Augurs) and consuls at the ceremonial opening of the Temple of Janus. The **trabea** was associated in the later republic and empire with the EQUITES who were sometimes called *trabeati* (e.g. Martial, 5.41.5), as it was worn by equites taking part in the *transvectio equitum*, the annual cavalry parade, and other ceremonial events such as the *decursio* at the funeral of Antoninus Pius. There is some debate about its form: either a short rounded mantle fastened with a **fibula**, or a short **toga** – reaching only to the knees – which could be worn like the early imperial **toga**, or **cinctus Gabinus**, more appropriate to warlike activities (Gabelmann, 1977: 322–74). Another major difference from the **toga** was its COLOUR: although early kings may have worn a purple **trabea** with a WHITE BORDER, for all others it seems to have been PURPLE with SCARLET STRIPES or borders. **Trabea** was also used in LATE ANTIQUITY for an elaborately decorated **toga** worn by emperors and consuls, seen on ivory consular diptychs of the fifth and sixth centuries AD: the designs appear to articulate the various parts of the garment, which is now more tailored-looking than even the fourth-century **toga**. Claudian describes these **trabecae** as jewel-studded, and shining in gold and purple (*Stilicho* 2.339–40, 3.198).

Isidore, *Origins* 19.24.8; Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.612.

tractum (L) Anything drawn out, so a flock of WOOL drawn out for SPINNING.

Tibullus, 1.6.80.

TRADE Both textile components – FIBRES, DYES – and finished garments and textiles were traded throughout the ancient world from prehistory onward. Within Greek and Roman culture, different areas often specialized in producing particular materials, FABRICS, or garments, while exotic fibres (COTTON, SILK), DYES and MORDANTS were obtained from further afield. These were popular items of trade because they were relatively high value, regionally specialized and light. During the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, such trade became more systematized and common, and it is from these periods that most of our SOURCES come. Literary evidence tends to concentrate on specialist or luxury trade items like PURPLE, haloungopoles. Although these periods give the best picture of the extent of the textile trade, it should not be underestimated in any period. The common practice of naming garment types with reference to their origin – whether or not all examples actually came from there: e.g. *amorginion*, *tarantinon*; see PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN – provides good evidence for the prevalence and influence of trade from all periods.

Van Wees (2005: 44–54).

TRAGEDY, CLOTHING IN Clothing in tragic texts – for performance, see ACTORS, STAGE COSTUMES. At first glance, clothing in tragedy falls under two obvious headings: the BLACK garments of mourning and WHITE garments of purity. However, a closer look reveals an interesting, if limited, SOURCE. References to clothing in tragedy form conventional systems which heighten and illuminate moments of social significance. In Attic tragedy, at least, we have sufficient texts by particular authors to study the preferences of individual dramatists. Many textual clothing references are clearly SYMBOLIC, and relate to uses we already understand, while providing valuable expansion – especially for black and PURPLE. Although some general comments can be made, for instance that tragedy confirms the RITUAL importance of

WHITE clothing, and emphasizes the social significance of PATTERNED dress, it is better to read each play with an eye for the totality of its clothing references, and with a general appreciation of how the dramatist uses dress – Aeschylus tends to use epic *topos*, Sophocles tends not to refer to details, Euripides employs complex references and *topos* which often focus on COLOUR – in order to fully appreciate each reference. Another issue with tragedy as a source – aside from its self-consciously heroic milieu – is the preference for general dress terms over specific garments, e.g. *peplōma*, *stolē*, which perhaps relates to stage costume (Fig. 39).

Cleland 2003; Muehle 2005; Seane 1980; *dyschlaina*, *melas*, *sandarakinos*.

traho (L) To draw out, so to SPIN.

Juvenal, 2.54.

TRANSPARENCY Clothes are often represented in art – especially red-figure vases, Etruscan and Roman paintings, Classical and later sculpture – as so thin and gauzy that the body beneath is fully visible (Fig. 6, 46). It is difficult to know whether fabrics really were this fine, or so worn in reality, or whether these are artistic conventions, to show the nude form while still technically clothed. Horace says that when PROSTITUTES wore COAN SILK they appeared almost naked, but this may mean that the thin drapery clung to the body rather than being see-through. Chinese fabrics – SILK or COTTON – allowed the MATRON to ‘shine through’ her clothes. Seneca complains about clothes that hide nothing of the matron’s body and see-through togas (*Debtates* 2.5.7; *Epistles* 114.21). These comments suggest that transparent clothing really was available, worn, and disapproved of.

Pliny, NH 6.20.5; *amorginion*, *chiton*, *chitonion*, *diaphane*, *kimberikon*, *tarantinon*.

TRANSVESTISM See CROSS-DRESSING.



Figure 46 Danae receives Zeus as a shower of gold. Semi-TRANSPARENT LINEN **chitōn**, bordered, full **kolpos**, short unsewn sleeves; **himation** with patterned border (**pyrgotos**); wide cloth (short head veil?) as a **FILLET**. **Sakkos** on wall with mirror. The bed cloth is patterned, striped and tasselled, cf. **epiblema**.

tribōn, tribōnarian (G) A short or small CLOAK, characteristic of SPARTANS and PHILOSOPHERS: volume and fullness of cloth generally denoted high VALUE and STATUS.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 184, 343; *Knights* 356; Plato, *Symposium* 219b; Zeno, *Stoics* 1.63; Plutarch, 2.322a.

trichapton (G) A fine VEIL of HAIR.

Pollux, 2.24; 10.32; *IG XI(2)* 287a53; **tarantinon**.

trimitos (G) TWILL, WOVEN with three HEDDLES.

Barber (1991: 267); Pollux, 7.78; *Price Edict of Diocletian* 19.28; **mitos**.

TRIUMPH/triumphator A victorious Roman general wore a special costume for his victory parade, the **toga picta** with **tunica palmata**. The institution and this traditional dress were thought to go back to the time of the earliest kings. Both garments were state

property, and only the Senate could authorize their use for a particular event.

trochades (G) Substantial SANDALS used for running or walking, like **gallicae**.

Price Edict of Diocletian 9.12.

TROUSERS Leg coverings, shaped to fit the waist and legs, were a distinctive hallmark of BARBARIANS, according to Greek and Roman understanding. Not native to the Classical world, trousers were used by many peoples of Asia and northern Europe. Early fifth-century Greeks conceived of the AMAZONS as trouser-wearing warriors; they no doubt modelled them on their PERSIAN foes, since PERSIANS wore baggy trousers as part of their attire. Roman references to **bracae** and **bracati** in the late republic and earlier imperial periods usually imply contempt for the trouser-wearer's lack of civilization. In Roman art, prisoners and defeated enemies are routinely shown

wearing trousers (Fig. 31), although long trousers in practice rapidly disappeared from GALLIC DRESS with ROMANIZATION and trousers were eventually adopted by some Romans. Roman funerary portraiture from PALMYRA shows Persian-style trousers, and Roman SOLDIERS of the first and second centuries AD wore knee-breeches (*feminalia*). By the third century AD we start to hear of Romans wearing *bracae*, whether long trousers or soldiers' knee-breeches, but there is also pictorial evidence to suggest that some Romans – particularly soldiers on the frontiers – were beginning to wear long trousers or hose – with or without attached feet. In AD 397 the emperor Honorius imposed severe penalties on those who appeared in Rome in *bracae*, suggesting that this originally barbarian and alien fashion was already creeping into Rome itself, probably through the influence of the military.

Ovid, *Tristia* 4.6.47; Juvenal, 8.232–4; *Code of Theodosius* 14.10.2; *anaxyrides*, FASHION, sarabara, skeleai, SYMBOLISM, thylakos.

tryphema (G) A LUXURIOUS garment, from *tryphe*, softness or delicacy, cf. *chlidē*.

Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320.7; *IG* II² 1514.71, etc.

TUNIC The basic inner garment of Greek and Roman dress took many forms, simple to elaborate (see *chitōn*, *tunica*): some were a single piece of material, PINNED and BELTED around the body, others were DRAPED, shaped, SEWN and DECORATED. Tunics were generally made from thinner FABRIC, often LINEN for comfort and ease of CLEANING, and were generally less COSTLY than outer garments. Therefore, wearing the tunic alone often seems to be a mark of low STATUS (*tunicatus*) and is often regarded as indicating representations of SLAVES in Greek art.

tunica (L) The most basic Roman garment, worn – in various forms – by everyone, of all levels of society – including slaves – throughout Roman history. Tunics were worn by other Italian peoples

(SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS: cf. *chitōns*) and widely worn in the PROVINCES. The simplest types were made either from a single rectangle of cloth sewn down one side to form a tube and fastened on the shoulders, or of two pieces sewn together at both sides and shoulders, leaving gaps for the head and arms (Fig. 41). Both types were sleeveless, although, depending on the width, some fabric could hang over the upper arms. More complex versions had short sleeves, woven separately and sewn on, or, more likely, woven in one piece with the main body. EGYPTIAN survivals also suggest that it was quite usual for tunics to be woven from sleeve to sleeve rather than hem to hem. The 'gap-sleeved tunic' (Croom 2000: 76–8), worn by women, is essentially the Greek *chitōn*, the fabric of front and back joined at a number of points – usually three to seven – along the shoulder, leaving gaps in between.

Roman men of the republic and early empire wore shorter tunics than women: mid-calf when unbelted, but pulled up over the belt until the hem was around knee-level – only CENTURIONS wore it shorter, only women longer, according to Quintilian, 11.3.138. The usual colour for elite male tunics was WHITE, with two purple stripes (*clavi*) running down the front and the back from shoulder to hem, varying in width for SENATORS and EQUITES. Ordinary Romans are represented wearing tunics of other colours, and often more practical dark shades with two stripes, as seen in Pompeian paintings of daily life). The lower classes were characterized as *tunicati* – without *togas* over their tunics – and are often shown wearing unbelted tunics, considered EFFEMINATE for aristocratic Romans. SOLDIERS wore their tunics above the knees, and always belted. For active work, soldiers, like other labourers, might slip one arm out of the armhole of their tunic, so it was fastened on one shoulder only: therefore tunics had to be made with very wide neck holes, the slack material being gathered into a knot at the back of the neck to stop the tunic

slipping off the shoulders. Although the sleeveless or short-sleeved tunic was the norm in early imperial Rome, long-sleeved versions were worn as traditional forms of dress in the provinces (GALLIC DRESS, PALMYRA) and despite the earlier condemnation of long-sleeved tunics worn without belts, this fashion – probably PROVINCIAL – did become respectable for Roman men later, see *dalmaticus*. Other changes include greater decoration (Fig. 47) and a fashion for wearing two tunics at once, a longer, tighter one with long fitted sleeves below a sleeveless, more voluminous and shorter tunic (Fig. 24). Very high-ranking officials in the fifth and sixth centuries wore a tunic very highly decorated with bands of gold decoration, like the contemporary *toga*. Women's tunics were

generally longer and more varied than men's in both colour and texture (e.g. Plautus, *Epidicus* 2.2.228–34; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.169–88) and were often decorated with two STRIPES of contrasting colour or with BORDERS. Upper-class women wore their tunics with a cord belt, falling to their feet, with a *stola* and *palla* on top (Fig. 27), but working women and slaves are generally represented wearing shorter – cheaper – tunics falling to the ankles or mid-calf, often unbelted.

Wilson (1938: 55–75); Croom (2000: 30–40, 73–85).

tunica palmata (L) The decorated tunic worn by a general celebrating his TRIUMPH: Festus, using what is probably false etymology, says that originally it



Figure 47 Details from mosaics in the villa at Piazza Armerina, Sicily: (left) Large Hunt Mosaic, (right) Small Hunt Mosaic: two HUNTSMEN, both wearing TUNICS decorated with BANDS and patches, typical of the late third and fourth centuries.

was decorated with stripes (**clavi**) the width of the palm of the hand, but later decorated with designs. Modern scholars have speculated that these designs were related to the palm – a symbol of victory, i.e. **palmettes**.

Festus, 209; Livy, 30.15.11.

tunica pulla (L) A GREY or BLACK TUNIC, INAPPROPRIATE for Roman governors, cf. **pullus**, **toga pulla**.

Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.4.24.

tunica recta (L) Literally 'straight' tunic, worn for INITIATION ceremonies by boys on officially reaching manhood, and BRIDES. The **tunica recta** was probably made from a single rectangle of WHITE wool – or possibly linen – and was supposed to bring good fortune. According to tradition the first one was made by Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus.

Pliny, *NH* 8.74.195; Festus, 276–7, 286–9.

tunica talaris (L) An ankle-length TUNIC, from **talus** (ankle), EFFEMINATE dress for a Roman man.

Cicero, *Against Verres* 2.5.13.

tunicatus (L) Literally, wearing a tunic, metaphorically opposed to **togatus**, and so referring to lower class STATUS, or rural life. Also used, probably with similar implications, of the characteristic dress of the Carthaginians.

Cicero, *For Caelius* 5.11; Plautus, *Poenulus* 5.3.1121; Tacitus, *On Oratory* 7.4.

tunicopallium (L) A woman's matching set of TUNIC and small **palla**.

Nonius, 862L; Wilson (1938: 167).

turbo (L) Anything that twists, including the SPINDLE.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.336.

tutulus (L) A traditional women's HAIR-STYLE worn for RITUAL, probably originally ETRUSCAN. The hair was separated into sections, piled on top of the head into a cone shape, and secured with **vittae**. It was traditionally worn by *matres familiae* – wives of heads of households – and by **flaminicae**, and was similar to the **seni crines**, the hairstyle worn by BRIDES and the VESTAL VIRGINS (Fig. 48).

Varro, *Latin Language* 7.44; Festus, 354–5.

Twill One of the main all-over PATTERN-WEAVES, in which the WEFT is passed over and under two WARP threads, offset by one warp thread in each line of weft to form a diagonal rib pattern. Twill is easily mechanized using additional HEDDLES – two more on the two-beam LOOM, three on the warp-weighted loom. Once this has been done, various additional variations may be created in various ways: diagonals may also be zig-zagged horizontally or vertically, or returned to form lozenges (Fig. 49).

Barber (1991: 186–95); ARCHAEOLOGY, FABRIC, **trimitos**, **polymitos**.

tyrianthus/os (L/G) Literally, flower or DYE of Tyre, i.e. Tyrian PURPLE, cf. **anthos**.

Martial, 1.54.5.

tyrrhenica (L) An ETRUSCAN SANDAL with a deep multi-layered sole and gold laces exported to Athens.

Pollux, 7.22.92.

U

udo (udones) (L) Woollen SOCKS.

Martial, 14.141[140]; Vindolanda tablet 38.

umbo (L) Literally ‘knob’, one of the principal FOLDS of the early imperial **toga**: a loop or clump of cloth was pulled out from the diagonal swathe of drapery across the body to hang over the **sinus** just above the waist (Fig. 42). This perhaps helped fix the drape, but was primarily decorative. (Tertullian, *Pallium* 5.1 later uses **umbo** for the folded drapery over the shoulder characteristic of the **BANDED toga**).

Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.13.4.

umbraculum (L) A PARASOL.

Virgil, *Eclogues* 9.42.

UNDERWEAR Remnants of LEATHER loin-cloths have been found from 7,000 years ago: the simplest, and probably first, undergarment worn by human beings, alone in warmer climates, covered by other garments in colder. The EGYPTIANS of the second millennium BC wore such fabric undergarments beneath their kilts: supplies for use after death were buried in pharaohs’ tombs. Greek and Roman men may have worn loincloths, but wearing underclothes was by no means obligatory, and it remains unclear whether Greek women wore undergarments. ARTISTIC evidence only rarely

shows underwear – usually worn alone – and literature seldom mentions it. LOINCLOTHS were worn by some labourers, as outerwear by GLADIATORS, ATHLETES, ACTORS and possibly SOLDIERS and HUNTSMEN, and perhaps worn under early togas, before the TUNIC became customary. Women athletes and entertainers wore BRIEFS – similar garments were perhaps worn when BATHING – but otherwise the sparse evidence is *against* these being routinely worn as underclothes (Martial, 3.87, 11.99). There is much more evidence for BREASTBANDS as underwear. Undertunics were worn by both sexes, and again appear to be referred to by various names: the **subucula**, worn especially by men; the **indusium/intusium**, worn by MATRONS; the **supparum** (-us), an undertunic for girls and BRIDES. **Camisia** is used in later Latin, possibly for an undertunic worn by girls, cf. **caltula**. Other forms of underwear also appear to have been worn by those in ill-health (e.g. **feminalia**).

Pliny, *NH* 12.32.59, 34.11.23; Cicero, *On Offices* 1.35.129; Vindolanda tablet 38; Aulus Gellius, 6.12.3; Stafford (2005: 96–112); Olsen (2003: 201–10).

UNIFORMS The Classical world had no uniforms as we understand them – compulsory identical clothing for all members of a group, characterized by specific identifying/ranking insignia.

in the Roman army considerable diversity was also possible as no standard uniform was issued. SOLDIERS in a particular unit at a given time might wear similar MILITARY

DRESS simply because of what was available and fashionable, but were free to buy better or worse quality and add individual touches.

V

VALUE, OF TEXTILES In addition to their social or aesthetic connotations, ancient garments were an important form of portable **WEALTH**. This is clearly expressed in Homer by their role as gifts and objects of exchange, continuing throughout antiquity: Roman emperors used items of clothing as gifts to foreign rulers and the people of Rome. The high **COST** and portability of clothing also made it liable to **THEFT**, and textiles continued to be a major way of expressing personal wealth, at **MARRIAGE** – mentioned in betrothal contracts and dowries – in **FUNERARY RITUALS**, wills and **SUMPTUARY LAW**. Some textiles were obviously valuable due to their **LUXURY** components, but all had significant added value due to the time, effort and skill required to produce them – especially **PATTERNED** textiles. Most members of Greek and Roman culture were probably very aware of, and competent to assess, these intrinsic aspects of garments' worth – as only the most fashion conscious would be today. Such awareness would inform attitudes to clothing. However, although the **EPIGRAPHIC** record provides some hints as to the absolute monetary value of garments and textiles, these are sparse, and do not allow detailed conclusions for many particular periods. Martial (2.44.1–4) implies that a new **toga** cost the same as a slave – or three to four pounds of silver plate – and the **PRICE EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN** gives a glimpse of prices in AD 301.

VEIL/VEILING Greek women routinely veiled their heads, and sometimes faces – even **SPARTAN** women veiled – as part of an ideology requiring female social invisibility; by placing themselves beneath veils, women effected a **SYMBOLIC** separation (Figs 16, 17, 27, 38, 50). In Homer, the veil is the preserve of goddesses and royal women, but by the **CLASSICAL** period – in Athens – women of varying social strata are shown veiled with their **himatia** (Fig. 1). In the fourth century BC the **tegidion** appears, covering the face, leaving only the eyes exposed. Greek men also veiled themselves in **himatia** when their honour was at risk: at times of crisis, in **MOURNING** or when they were angry or shamed. Roman men generally placed a fold of their toga over their head as a veil when offering sacrifices (**capite velato**) but otherwise were normally bareheaded. Many portrait statues of Roman women show them veiled with a **palla**, and matrons were probably expected to dress in this way even in the Imperial period when outdoors and in the public domain, although they were not obliged to do so: the anecdote that a consul in the second century BC divorced his wife because she went out unveiled is presented as an example of outmoded excess (Valerius Maximus, 6.3.10). Veiling was more common in the Eastern empire, particularly among **JEWISH** women, perhaps

explaining St Paul's keenness that Christian women should cover their heads. Greek and Roman BRIDES wore distinctive red-yellow veils, cf. **flammeum**.

Plutarch, *Moralia* 267A; Tertullian, *De Corona* 4.2; 1 Corinthians 11; Cairns (2002: 73–94); Llewellyn-Jones (2003); **acicula**, **amictorium**, **amictus**, **ampechone**, **botronatus**, **epiblēma**, **FEMININITY**, **helkesipeplos**, **kalumma**, **kaluptra**, **kolpos**, **krēdemnon**, **krokopeplos**, **krokos**, **lacerna**, **peplos**, **pharos**, **suffibulum**, **trichapton**, **velum**.

velum (L) A woman's VEIL.

Pliny, *Letters* 4.19.3.

velumen (L) A SHEEPSKIN.

Varro, *Roman Republic* 2.11.9.

venetus (L) Dark BLUE, used for one of the CIRCUS FACTIONS, i.e. 'the Blues'.

Martial, 6.46.1.



Figure 48 Head of a VESTAL VIRGIN from Cancellaria Frieze B in the Vatican Museums. She wears the characteristic HAIR-STYLE using **infulae** and **vittae**.

VESTAL VIRGINS Priestesses of Vesta, who held an unusually prominent position in Roman religion and the state, and were distinguished above all else by their HAIR-STYLE, like Roman BRIDES', symbolizing their permanent chastity (Fig. 48). White and red woollen **infulae** were wound several times around the head with large loops (**vittae**) left hanging onto the shoulders. This appears in some representations as a bulky turban-like headdress: one possibility is that the Vestals' hair was cut short, and the **infulae** were thus an artificial imitation of the bridal hairstyle. When SACRIFICING, the Vestals wore the **suffibulum** – rectangular VEIL, white with a **praetexta** border.

Festus, 339, 348; La Folette (1994: 57–60).

vestem mutare (L) To change into MOURNING clothes, or **sordes**, at a time of state crisis, or as a protest.

Cicero, *For Plancius* 12.29, *For Sestius* 11.26; Livy, 6.16.4, 6.20.2.

vestiarius (L) A dealer in ready-made clothing, see CLOTHES SHOPS.

Digest 14.3.5.

vestmentum (L) Clothing and other textiles – bedspreads, hangings, etc.

Livy, 4.25.13.

vestio (L) To clothe, so also to invest, e.g. an emperor with the imperial PURPLE.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.160; Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 2.9.2.

vestis (L) Clothes, garments in general.

Horace, *Carmina* 4.9.14; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36 (RITUAL).

vincula (L) Straps or laces for SANDALS or SHOES; metaphorically, the FOOTWEAR itself.

Tibullus, 1.5.66; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.410.

violaceus, violeus (L) Violet.

Pliny, *NH* 9.63.137.

viridis (L) GREEN.

vitta (L) A BAND OR FILLET OF WOOL, cf. **taenia**, used especially in women's hairstyles,

e.g. **tutulus**. Also used to decorate altars, and worn by poets and suppliants. Priests wore **purpureae vittae** as HEADADDRESSES. Also worn by BRIDES, and VESTAL VIRGINS, to SYMBOLIZE chastity.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.133, 3.64, 6.665, *Eclogues* 8.64; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.413.

W

WARP In weaving, the threads attached to the **LOOM**, held under tension so that the **WEFT** can be interlaced between them. On the warp-weighted loom – where the warp is held taut by weights attached to the bottom ends – these were usually regulated at the top by a **HEADING BAND**. Every second warp thread – for plain weave – was bound over the shed bar of the loom, creating one of the gaps into which the weft is passed. The **HEDDLE** forms the second – more for complex weaves – allowing the alternate threads to be lifted past the original shed for the corresponding pass of the weft. The nature of a finished textile is determined as much by the structure of the warp – width or tension of threads could be varied – as by the types of weft introduced.

histos, kairos, kanōn, kteis, laiai, stēmōn, tela.

WARP-WEIGHTED LOOM See **LOOM**.

waterproofing A variety of techniques were used for relatively waterproof textiles in antiquity. The most obvious was simply to use tight yarn and a close weave, which made it difficult for water to pass into the textile. Similarly, **FELT** could be relatively waterproof due to its density. Alternatively, textiles could be oiled during **WEAVING**, although there is no indication that the intent is to waterproof: the oil may have been intended to bleach or condition the

FIBRES, or to add shine or **PERFUME** to the textile. Waterproof cloaks could be woven from **WOOL** with more lanolin left in than usual, or oiled after weaving to enhance their water-shedding qualities. **LEATHER** could also be used waxed or oiled.

Odyssey 7.105–7; Martial, 1.53.5, 14.130.

WEALTH Garments and textiles had social and economic **VALUE** and were used as a form of wealth, an investment. In the modern world, mass-produced garments governed by the fashion system are a highly ephemeral form of material culture. We rarely wear hand-me-downs, or consider garments as heirlooms – unless, like wedding dresses, they are ritually and economically distinctive. This situation was very different in the ancient world, where textiles were not only the most significant form of female wealth, but also important household wealth, transmitted from generation to generation, added to when possible, and available to gift or sell when necessary. Garments as **DEDICATIONS**, and **TEMPLES AS TEXTILE TREASURES**, should be seen in this light, as should **STATUS** assertion through dress, cf. **SLAVES**.

Foxhall (1989).

WEAVERS The sheer time that went into **MANUFACTURING TEXTILES** for garments and household use in antiquity can hardly

be overemphasized. It is no surprise that we find a large variety of terms for weavers in Greek and Latin, many of them with both masculine and feminine forms. Although it is likely that – outside Egypt – women produced most textiles, men also wove, perhaps more often for pay in weaving workshops which produced textiles in bulk.

Barber (1991: xxii, etc.; 1994); *byssourgos*, *ergatēs*, *ergatis*, *historgos*, *hyphantēs*, *kairōstris*, *kanōn*, *linteo*, *pēnitis*, *pepluphos*

WEAVING The main method of TEXTILE MANUFACTURE in the ancient Mediterranean world. Undertaken on a variety of LOOMS, all types of weaving involve the mechanically assisted interweaving of two

sets of threads, one (WARP) under tension, the other (WEFT) loose and flexible. On the relatively simple ancient looms most of the different characteristics of the various possible FABRICS are determined by the way in which the warp is set up (see HEADING-BAND, HEDDLE) or by varying the type or introduction of the weft, see PATTERN-WEAVING. Despite its relative efficiency, weaving is still a very skilled and time-consuming process, even for making a basic textile, more so for PATTERNED or FIGURED fabrics. This is because the SHUTTLE or SKEIN was passed, rather than thrown, from one side to another, especially for the exceptionally wide textiles woven on warp-weighted looms. Weaving was always a major component of women's work, and



Figure 49 Left: Semite tribesman in simple WRAP – woven with coloured geometric TWILL designs – simple NECKLACE, leather SHOES with straps, typical pointed BEARD. Right: Syrian nobleman in sari-like coloured garment with patterned BORDER, studded with metal rosettes, linen SASH – excess cloth forms cape – long hair with FILLET, bearded, multiple BRACELETS.

a major contribution to the **WEALTH** of the household, as well as an important aspect of organized textile manufacture for **SALE**. Ovid gives a good description of weaving in *Metamorphoses* 6.53–8.

Barber (1991: 79–124; 210–14 etc.); acu pingere, anthēropoikilos, **BROCADE**, duplex, enhyphaino, ephyphē, ergastērion, **GRAIN**, hēmihyphēs, hyphaino, meruomai, paryphainō, periegētos, kerkis, kerkistikē, oa, **PATTERN-WEAVING**, pēnē, polyspathes, ralla, **TABLET-WEAVING**.

WEAVING TOOLS A variety of ancillary tools were used, apart from the basic four beams of the **LOOM** – including the shed-bar – and the warp and **WEFT** threads. **WARP** threads were also separated by the **HEDDLES** (mitos, **licinium**), while the weft was introduced on a **SKEIN** or pin-beater (kerkis, acus, radius). Once introduced, it was beaten into place with a thin flat board slipped into the shed (spathē, **spatha**). Weft that was not being

used would also have been kept to hand wound on bobbins (pēnē, **panus**), and weavers at the warp-weighted loom might wear platform **SHOES** (e.g. krepis).

WEDDING As the wedding was an event of most importance to the **BRIDE**, her costume was singled out as special. The groom in the Greek world might wear a special **himation nymphikon**: the Roman groom simply wore a **toga**, possibly brighter white than usual – and wedding scenes on sarcophagi suggest that the early imperial toga continued to be worn even once the **BANDED toga** was more commonly worn. The children who led the bride to her husband's house wore the **toga praetexta**.

Festus, 245; Oakley and Sinos (1993); caelibaris, cingulum, infula, krokos, nodus Herculeus, chlanis, corona, flammeum, hamma parthenias, himation nymphikon, kalumma, luteus, reticulum, **RITUAL**, soccus, vitta.



Figure 50 BRIDAL scene. From left: (1) Young woman: long BELTED tunic, fitted wrist-length SLEEVES. (2) Seated bride VEILED in voluminous himation. (3) Young woman: sleeveless belted TUNIC, himation, long hair, stephanē.

WEFT In **WEAVING**, thread introduced – using a **SHUTTLE** or equivalent – alternately over and under the taut threads of the **WARP**, and then beaten close to form the tight interlace of the finished textile. Most woven **PATTERNS** – except some vertical **STRIPES** and plaids, which may also use different colours of warp – are created by using variously COLOURED wefts, or wefts of different thicknesses for texture patterns.

ephyphē, krokē, meruomai, pēnē, spathē.

WEFT-LOOPING In most textiles, the **WEFT** is left flat, and relatively tight, so that the textile maintains its shape off the **LOOM**. However, it is also possible to draw out a loop of weft where it passes over the **WARP**, and leave this hanging out when it is returned under the warp – loops are often kept regular by placing a rod over the web for the loops to pass over, then slipping it out when finished. Weft-looping produces a shaggy textile, with better insulation properties, and can be used sporadically to create patterns, or all over – the loops may be left whole, or cropped once the textile is finished, leaving a softer pile on the fabric.

kaunakēs, lesion, kartos; Barber (1991: 149, 197–8).

WHITE In Greek and Latin (**albus**, **candidus**, **leukos**) included all light colours, not just ‘pure’ white. White appears to have been a common – but not the standard – colour for garments, and to have particularly symbolized **RITUAL** purity, being appropriate for **WEDDING** guests, festival-goers, officials and **PRIESTS**. Since most textile fibres are naturally off-white, pure whiteness in clothing was achieved by **BLEACHING** and **FULLING**, and was probably at least as difficult to obtain and **MAINTAIN** as **DYED COLOUR**. Our conceptions of Greek and Roman dress often default to white because of monochrome **POTTERY** and statuary – once painted, since bleached to white – but in the reality of ancient dress white was not a ‘base’ colour, but was valued as **BRIGHT**, distinctive against

both the generally **DULL** shades of most **PLANT DYES** and ancient **CLEANING** processes, and the rare vivid colours of visibility and **STATUS** in dress. This is reflected in **CLOTHING REGULATIONS**, clothing in **TRAGEDY** and Roman emphasis on white as **SYMBOLIC** of the virtues required of priests (**albogalerus**) candidates for office (**candidatus**) and citizen men (**toga candida**, **toga pura**, **toga virilis**). Whiteness of skin was also an aspect of desirable **FEMININITY**.

diadēma, embas, himation, infula, krēpis, lacerna, sarapis, Sikyonia, soccus, suffibulum; Cleland (2003).

WIDOWS Roman widows wore the **ricinium** (later the **mafortium**, Nonius, 869L) instead of the **palla**: this would be worn in the **MOURNING** period – lifelong, unless remarried.

WIGS An artificial head of **HAIR** – human or animal – worn on the head for **FASHION**, or other aesthetic and stylistic reasons, including cultural and religious observance. Wigs were commonly worn by wealthy **EGYPTIANS** of both sexes: **ARCHAEOLOGICAL** finds have revealed a wide assortment of types, as well as false strands of hair and plaits for weaving into natural hair to augment its fullness and thickness (Fig. 13). Egyptian wigs are almost exclusively made of human hair, mounted onto a net cap of human hair and held in place with beeswax; they were stored in special wig boxes. Their enormous **VALUE** is shown by their role as grave-goods. Egyptian wigs enhanced the appearance, in terms of both social **STATUS** and **EROTICISM**: literature plays on the wig as an erotic device. Wigs were not commonly worn by the Greeks, although false hair pieces may have been braided into natural locks, but wigs – made from human hair taken from the heads of captives – were highly fashionable amongst the Roman elite of the late republic and the empire, forming a lucrative **TRADE** for hair traders and wig makers. Certain **COLOURS** of hair were

fashionable; during the Gallic and Teutonic campaigns blonde wigs made from the hair of captured German slaves were in vogue. Juvenal (6.120) mocks the sexual excesses of Claudius' notorious wife Messalina who frequented brothels with her dark hair hidden beneath an ash-blond wig. The elaborate towered HAIRSTYLES of Flavian and Trajanic women were certainly created by the addition of false hair over a wire frame. Known by art-historians as *Toupetfrisuren* or *toupée-hairstyles*, these towering coiffures are self-consciously flamboyant. Men usually wore wigs in an attempt to disguise baldness or in CROSS-DRESSING. The emperor Domitian was so preoccupied with his incipient baldness that he published a treatise *On the Care of Hair*, dedicated to a bald friend, and Otho also wore a wig.

Suetonius, *Domitian* 18.2, *Otho* 12.1; Ovid, *Art of Love* 3.165–9, 249–50; Virgili (1989).

WOOF See WEFT.

WOOL The primary fibre for outer garments, a staple of ancient TEXTILE MANUFACTURE. SHEEP'S wool consists of two distinct types of fibre, the coarser but more fragile outer fibres – kemp and hair – and the fluffier, more flexible, inner FIBRES commonly used for textiles. Opinions differ as to when wool began to be obtained by shearing, as opposed to being gathered in flocks (*gnaphalon*) during moult. Old Akkadian records (Barber 1991: 29) refer to clipping as a means of obtaining wool, so the practice was certainly known throughout this period, as references to DYEING in the fleece would seem to indicate. By plucking rather than shearing or clipping, one obtains only the inner woolly fibres, without the coarser hairs or kemp, and so can SPIN higher grades of yarn. Wool fibres naturally trap air, and therefore give textiles better insulation properties than PLANT FIBRES, and, being proteins, also have a different, more amenable relationship to natural DYES. Combined, these two properties – along with the relatively

wide range of natural wool COLOURS, e.g. *glaukeious* – explain the tendency of outer garments to be more highly PATTERNED and coloured in the Greek and Roman worlds.

Raw wool (*pokos*) must be washed (*erriplytes*) after gathering, to remove both dirt and excess lanolin, in order to make the wool easier to CARD (*xanion xantēs*), cf. WATERPROOF cloth. In the Roman period, some sheep farmers protected fleece from dirt and twigs with cloth jackets (Pliny, *NH* 8.73.190). Wool may be either combed, as with plant fibres, to make the fibres lie parallel, or carded, separating the fibres from their original locks by pulling at them repeatedly with natural or artificial teasels: this results in fluffy rollocks (*agrēnon*, *cingulum*, *tolupē*), teased out and twisted before SPINNING (*klōthō*, *talasia*). Combed wool is spun into a hard strong yarn now termed worsted, while carded wool spins to a soft elastic yarn, properly termed woollen. Once spun, the thread or yarn (*katagma*) was generally WOVEN, but the microscopic scales of wool fibres mean that they can also be made into FELT – kneaded and pounded to lock together, not separated for spinning.

A great range of finishes is possible on woollen cloth: after WEAVING it can be carded (*knapeus*) to raise the NAP, or felted to make it more wind- and waterproof (*birrus*). The insulating properties of woollen cloth were enhanced by a variety of techniques, including WEFT-LOOPING (*amphimallōs*, *cheimastron*, *lesion*). Wool seems to have had a particular conceptual importance, particularly in RITUAL (FILLETS, *agrenon*, *apex*, *infula*, *taenia*, *vitta*, *reticulum* etc.), underscored by the wide variety of terms describing wool-working (e.g. *erriopōlēō* *erriourgeō*, etc, cf. *amorginon*, *stuppionon*, *linon*, *sinдон*, etc).

'WORKING-CLASS' DRESS Roman art – particularly from domestic contexts, shops and taverns or funerary monuments – shows lower status workers: some slaves, but others free-born or freedmen. They often wear a

simple UNBELTED tunic – often dark with two stripes in a contrasting colour. Labourers engaged in heavy manual work might wear their tunic off the right shoulder, and those working as fishermen or quarrymen, for example, might wear no more than a LOINCLOTH. Workers in the countryside wore practical clothing designed to protect them from the elements, such as wooden soled shoes, waterproof capes and leggings (Fig. 9).

Cato, *On Farming* 59.

WRAPS Ancient dress often consisted of two basic elements: a TUNIC of some sort – long or short – and a wrap, generally used here to suggest an outer garment worn otherwise than on the shoulders. In Assyria, for example, a simple tunic with SLEEVES was

worn in conjunction with a wrap that encircled the hips, waist and torso like a modern sari.

amicimen, amictorium, ampechonon, endromis, epiblēma, himation, krēdemnon, tarantinidion, toga.

WREATHS Similar to CROWNS and FILLETS, ancient wreaths were HEADDRESSES formed from plants, which had various RITUAL and STATUS meanings. Various plants were traditionally made into wreaths for different occasions: LAUREL, ivy, vine, myrtle, olive, oak and flowers. Such wreaths were also imitated in GOLD for ceremonial or funerary use.

corolla, corona, diadēma, EMPERORS, EROTICISM, ETRUSCANS, HAIRSTYLES.

X

xanion (G) A CARD for combing WOOL, also, therefore, **xantēs**, a wool carder.

Pollux, 5.96.

xanthos (G) YELLOW, frequently with a RED tinge. Also auburn, blond, of HAIR.

Aristotle, *Weather* 375a11; *Iliad* 1.197, 23.41, *Odyssey* 13.399.

xuō (G) To shear the NAP of cloth.

Iliad 14.179.

xustis (G) An ankle-length robe – male and female – of rich, soft material, worn by people of high STATUS, and main characters in TRAGEDY. Perhaps made of shorn fabric, cf. **xuō**. *Xustidōtos* appears for garments – only with **katastiktos** – at BRAURON, and may have a similar complex of meanings.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1190, *Clouds* 70; Plato, *Republic* 420e.

Y

YELLOW A very minor colour in modern western clothing and textiles, without significant symbolism or social meanings, not particularly aesthetically valued. To appreciate its many roles and meanings in Greek and Roman society, we should consider its important place in Buddhist cultures, cf. **SAFFRON**. Ancient evidence for yellow is complicated since Greek and Latin did not possess general terms for **ORANGE**. Greek texts do not often mention yellows other than **SAFFRON** – **krokos** was not a general colour term – for textiles: when they do, these too are obvious **DYE** terms (**mēlinos**, **mēlinoeides**, **thapsinos**). The most general yellow term (**xanthos**) is applied only to **HAIR** in the clothing field. Both Greek and Latin also use ‘golden’ for pleasing yellows (**aureus**, **chrysoeides**) although sometimes **GOLD** itself may be

meant. Latin distinguishes between yellows, but saffron is not as uniformly distinct, see **croceus**, **crocotulus**. The main Latin yellow terms are **flavus** – the more general, like **xanthos** often applied to hair – and **luteus**, probably from dyer’s weld, one of the most common yellow dyes.

Yellow appears to have been significant in both Greek and Roman **WEDDING SYMBOLISM** (**himation nymphikon**, **flammeum**, **soccii**) although scholars therefore debate whether these items were yellow or **RED**, the latter according better with cross-cultural parallels. Given the issue of orange, however, this debate is unlikely to be resolvable. But in the light of the other red analogue, **PURPLE**, it is unnecessary to be excessively literal: there is no reason why yellow-red, orange, should be much less significant than blue-red, purple.

Z

zeira (G) A wide outer garment, BELTED at the hips, falling to the feet, worn by Arabians and Thracians.

Herodotus, 7.69; 7.75; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.44.

zōma (G) A LOINCLOTH, especially for BOXING or fighting, **endyma** or **zōnē**.

Iliad 23.683, *Odyssey* 14.482; Sophocles, *Electra* 452; Aristophanes, *Fr.* 320.7.

zōnē (G) Generally, anything that encircles like a BELT. Most frequently, a woman's belt worn just above the hips, but also, less often, male belts, see **zōstēr**.

Odyssey 5.231, 10.544; Herodotus, 1.51; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.6.10.

zōōtos (G) DECORATED with FIGURES.

Callixtratus, 2; Polybius, 30.25.10; *IG* XI(2) 161.B100.

zōstēr (G) A SOLDIER'S or workman's BELT, later also a woman's GIRDLE, cf. **zōnē**.

Iliad 4.132, 135, 186 etc.; Herodotus, 9.74; *Greek Anthology* 9.421.

zōstra (G) A FILLET, cf. **taenia**.

Theocritus, 2.122.

Z-TWIST See **S-TWIST**.

Suggested further reading

There is still a dearth of recent general works on Greek and Roman dress in English. Non-specialist readers interested in knowing more from single volumes would do best to start with Sebesta and Bonfante (1994) *The World of Roman Costume*, or Llewellyn-Jones (2002) *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*. Both contain a variety of articles, giving good overviews of various aspects of dress, and contain excellent further reading – specific references are given in many of the entries above. For textile manufacture, in both technical and social terms, Barber (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles* leads the field, and provides very readable summaries alongside detailed information. Otherwise, please refer to the bibliography.

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LIZA CLELAND is Post-doctoral Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. Her fields of specialism include clothing and religion as social, cultural and intellectual expression.

GLENYS DAVIES is Senior Lecturer in Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. Her research interests include Roman funerary art and the social construction of women in the classical world.

LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Edinburgh. He has worked as an historical consultant for sets and costumes in Oliver Stone's film *Alexander* (2004).

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